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8 June 1983

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

No. 2807

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STATE OF AFRICAN STUDIES IN CHINA REPORTED

London WEST AFRICA in English 9 May 83 pp 1115-1118

[Article by Colin and Margaret Legum]

[Text] ALTHOUGH the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences began its African studies programme in 1961, the Cultural Revolution completely disrupted the work of Chinese Africanists for a period of 12 years, from 1966 to 1978. All the Africanists, like most other academics, were forced to spend the intervening time working in peasants' communes all over the country, with no opportunities to keep up with developments in Africa. They were deprived of books and specialist literature, and had to rely for their information on what appeared in the national press.

When they were finally allowed to return to their studies it was to find that nothing had been added to their library for the whole of the 12 years — neither books nor periodicals — and that some valuable material had been destroyed. It says much for the morale and dedication of Chinese Africanists that they have succeeded so quickly in catching up on what they lost during the 12 locust years of the mindless Cultural Revolution — which was described to us by a senior judge in Guangzhou (Canton) as having been, in fact, a civil war.

It came as a surprise, to us at least, that an estimated three million Chinese had died during the Cultural Revolution, many of them through suicide, because professional people, senior officials and academics found it unbearable to endure the indignities heaped on them in the name of cultural re-education. One feels it would be instructive if those academics in Africa and the West, who had written uncritical praise of the Cultural Revolution at the time, were to revisit that sanguinary period

to see where they (and the revolution) went wrong.

The Institute of West Asian and African Studies is one of a group of autonomous institutions engaged in international studies which are collectively attached to the Chinese Social Sciences Academy. (West Asia is what we call the Middle East). Other institutions engaged in international studies in the Academy include institutes for the study of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, United States of America, Latin America and Japan, as well as for philosophy, literature and history. While each institute enjoys autonomous status, they are governed by a Board of Directors composed of academic staff and official appointees, which ensures party control and influence.

The Institute of Beijing is housed in a famous old building on Zhiang Zhi Zhong road which is caked in history. In the late 19th-century it was the Navy's headquarters; after the 1911 revolution it was the headquarters of Sun Yat Sen's government; in the 1920s it was the home of the famous warlord, Duang Chi-Rey; during the Japanese occupation it served as a military police headquarters; and, after World War II, it served first as the headquarters for the anti-bandit (ie anti-corruption) campaign and, subsequently, as part of the People's University.

African studies are divided into four main specialised groups. (1) Studies into the differences between African countries and their politics; issues of contemporary Africa. (2) Studies of African economies. (3) African history studies, with stress on

modern history. (4) Southern African studies.

The main focus of all four groups is the study of national liberation movements; this is sub-divided into six areas for project work: problems of countries still fighting for their independence (South Africa and Namibia), and the contradictions within these struggles; current tendencies in African thinking and ideology (Pan-Africanism, African socialism, etc.); changes of class structure after independence, including the nature of tribalism; foreign policies of the big powers; and special issues relating to Southern Africa. All the projects give a high priority to problems of economic development.

Each staff member is allocated a topic relating to the six project areas described above, but members make their own plans for tackling the topic. At the end of a year their work is assessed by a Board of Academics which includes members of the Institute and of outside universities.

The present Board has 11 members, four of them drawn from outside the Institute. The Board meets every six months and works closely with other branches of the Academy, such as the Institute of World History which is showing a growing interest in African history. There is also a particularly close relationship with the Institute for Economic Studies, with whom three joint development projects are currently being undertaken.

The Institute for West Asian and African Studies is solely a research institution. While staff members may teach at other universities, no teaching is undertaken in the Institute itself. It has a staff of 27 engaged in African studies, 21 in West Asian studies, 15 in the library, and six engaged on editorial work. There are three categories of members — Research Fellows, Associate Research Fellows and Assistant Research Fellows. New staff are recruited from among graduates who, after three to five years, become Assistant Research Fellows. The next step up the ladder depends on the level of their work and on their publications. Promotions beyond Assistant Research Fellow is decided by the Academy. An Associate Research Fellow can also become attached to a university and teach there.

The Institute publishes *West Asia and Africa*, a bi-monthly magazine, which is intended for circulation only inside China. It includes both original work and translations from overseas scholars. The intention is to publish collections of essays from the

journal and to make them available to a wider public in 1983.

The present Deputy Director of the Institute is Prof. Wang Yue, who graduated from Sichuan (Szechuan) University in 1948 as a student of Chinese history and later studied in the Institute of Foreign Affairs. He first became engaged in Africa through his interest in the Algerian liberation struggle. He has paid only a few brief visits to Africa, and feels somewhat restricted by having only French as a foreign language. Most other staff members have a working knowledge of English.

A great weakness in Africanist studies in China arises from a lack of foreign exchange allocations which means that scholars are unable to travel in their areas of specialisation. Apart from Prof. Wang Yue, only one other staff member of the Institute, Gao Xian, has actually set foot in Africa. It is difficult to understand why the authorities, with China's great interest and involvement in Africa, do not provide for their scholars to deepen their own knowledge and expertise of the continent by engaging in actual fieldwork. It should also be possible to arrange for exchange programmes between the Institute and African universities — to their mutual advantage.

We spoke in English and, for most of the time, had the benefit of a marvellously proficient translator from the Institute, Liu Xi Han, who has spent two years at an Australian University. Most of our audiences could follow us without too much difficulty, and were able to frame their questions in English. But we found it more useful to have them write down their questions after each session. Some idea of their interest is indicated by the written questions we received, for example:

"What did you see with your own eyes when you returned to South Africa after 20 years?"

"What is the position of white workers in South Africa? To what extent have privileges affected their attitudes?"

"What is your definition of the African middle-class? What is their attitude?"

"Is it beneficial for former colonial countries to maintain their relations with the former colonial powers?"

"What is the degree of dependence of British industry on raw materials from Africa?"

"What is the relation, or connection, between Pan-Africanism, nationalism and socialism?"

"In maintaining and developing relations with African countries, does France

have a focal point in regions or particular countries? If so, how is this focal point formed? What is the reason behind it?"

Later, Prof. Wang Yue arranged for us to have an interview with Mr. Gong Dafei, China's Assistant Foreign Minister responsible for African Affairs.

The Minister denied that China's interest in the continent was declining. "In the first place," he said, "I would like to say that very important changes are taking place in Africa, but there are lots more to come. The impression of a declining Chinese interest is a superficial one. It is not the truth.

"Over the past 33 years Africa has been very important to us, and this has been a consistent interest. This doesn't mean there has been a straight line increase, but our general policy has remained unchanged. We have not followed a policy of expediency. Various factors determine our consistent policy. These vary in practice, but consistency is the key word in the policy we have pursued."

Asked what elements determined China's African policy, Mr. Gong Dafei replied: "China and Africa have similar backgrounds, both have suffered from colonialist and imperialist rule. So it is very natural that we sympathise with and support each other. For both, independence is not the end, but the beginning of building a new future. Both Africa and China were backward at independence, whereas the Western countries were developed in industry, agriculture and technology; we weren't. So we and Africa have a common task in correcting that.

"Every country formulates its policy based on self-interest. If we don't unite with Africa we have a weak role in international affairs. So we need to unite with Africa to expand our own role. This was already our policy when Zhou Enlai (Chou En-Lai) went to Africa in 1958 and stated the importance of our Five Point Principles. These relations have been much enriched since then, but those basic principles remain unchanged despite the death of Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong."

He explained that the five principles were to fight against colonialism; support non-alignment; promote unity; support the policy that disputes between African countries should be settled by talks among themselves; and to oppose interference and invasion from outside.

"We supplement these basic principles," he added, "by supporting Africa's efforts

at development on the basis of self-reliance, and through efforts to achieve a New International Economic Order. When Zhou Enlai first went to Africa not all of the then 34 independent African countries recognised China. Now, 45 of the 50 independent states have diplomatic relations with us. Both we and they are satisfied with the development of relations between ourselves. We support each other bilaterally as well as in international fora. We have a lot of economic co-operation and cultural exchanges."

My next question was about how much economic aid China has given to Africa. "We haven't published any figures," he answered, "but China has provided an average of 200 million renminbi to each African country. For a country like ours it's really a huge burden, considering our own poverty. Our African friends have compared our efforts to somebody tightening his own belt to help others."

"From our past experience we suggest to African friends that we start with small projects and those that yield quick results. For example, the Tanzam railway required lots of resources and time, and a considerable investment. This is true also of the part we helped to build for Mauritania near Nouakchott. We can't repeat these big projects now."

Referring to South Africa, the Minister said: "South Africa has a population of 20 million, a quarter of them whites who have lived there for several hundred years. We support the uprising of the blacks who want to solve the problems of the country. The situation in South Africa is different from that in Algeria, for example. The blacks can't drive the whites into the sea, and the whites can't continue with apartheid for ever."

Asked how he thought the issues should be confronted in South Africa, the Minister replied: "We believe that what is required is that the white regime should abandon apartheid and racial discrimination so that blacks and whites can form a national government in which all races co-operate. To support either whites or blacks would only create confusion; white interests will be smashed and this won't benefit blacks. The big powers would get involved and that would lead to trouble.

He pointed to what had happened after independence in Zimbabwe. "Prime Minister Mugabe adopted a very wise policy towards the 300,000 whites in his country. As a result, whites now feel



secure and are staying on, and this helps the country's economy. Many African leaders appreciate Mugabe's policies, which sets an example for South Africa."

Asked about what pressures China thought should be applied to help bring about changes in South Africa, the Minister said: "We should encourage international pressure. Africans should be united in exerting more pressure of their own, and

should also put pressure on big countries which have influence with South Africa. It will take time; this is a protracted struggle. For example, the Arab/Palestinian versus Israeli struggle has gone on for a long time. The war between them has got worse, and will only be solved through negotiations. The Arabs won't drive the Israelis into the sea, and the Israelis can't for ever deny a homeland to the Palestinians."

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DETAILS ON INDIAN OCEAN PACT GIVEN

London AFRICA NOW in English May 83 p 24

[Text] Last month, the recently-formed Indian Ocean Commission held its first meeting in Victoria, the capital of the Seychelles. The Commission which has as its members the Seychelles, Mauritius and the Malagasy Republic was set up in Mauritius at the end of last year in an attempt to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace which will eventually enhance regional co-operation. This, though, is a rather daunting task, given the fact that the area is of great military interest.

Nevertheless the three countries are going about it with great enthusiasm. The April meeting discussed areas of co-operation: industrial, fishing, air and sea communications, telecommunications, oil, and scientific research.

The historical and traditional links between the three countries have made the Commission possible. Harish Boodhoo, Deputy Prime Minister of Mauritius, said that the meeting setting up the Commission was an act of faith in the future of the islands. The Commission shall be non-political and will refrain from meddling in the internal affairs of members. There is room for other members such as Reunion and the Comoros, as well as Australia which has shown much interest. The EEC is enthusiastic and UNCTAD has already offered technical and financial aid.

The development of the Indian Ocean has been carried out in the past without co-operation among countries in the region and as such the Commission will set out to redress this. This is without doubt an ambitious project and it would be difficult to break the dependency on other countries.

Also, however non-political the Commission tries to be the South African spectre will eventually force member states to decide on a defence strategy.

Parallel to this, Seychelles' coast guard could provide help for Mauritius to prevent Soviet and Korean fishing vessels from poaching. The Saya de Malha fishing bench which caused some conflict

between Seychelles and the Soviet Union would certainly be the object of oil research since it is believed that there are some considerable reserves in the area.

One of the sore points has been the position regarding Diego Garcia which Mauritius is laying claim to and which has become a military base for the US. The government of Mauritius, in furthering its claim on Diego Garcia, has refused to let any more of its workers go to the island. Diego Garcia now has 2,000 US marines permanently stationed on the island.

Recently, Britain stated that Diego Garcia would be returned to Mauritius only when it would be of no use to the defence of the "free world." This, in other words, means that Britain recognises Mauritian sovereignty over the island.

At the March Non-Aligned summit in New Delhi, Aneerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister of Mauritius, brought up the subject of Diego Garcia which was excised from Mauritian territory in 1965 as a condition for independence in 1968.

The New Delhi summit unanimously recognised the sovereignty of Mauritius over Diego Garcia. The summit's declaration reads: "The Heads of State or Government expressed, in particular, their full support for Mauritian sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago, including Diego Garcia which was detached from the territory of Mauritius by the former colonial power in 1965 in contravention of United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1514(XV) and 2066(XX). The establishment and strengthening of the military base at Diego Garcia has endangered the sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful development of Mauritius and other states. They called for the early return of Diego Garcia to Mauritius."

This is indeed an important diplomatic success for Mauritius. But how ~~??~~ y will it be to dislodge the Americans from the island? The advent of the Indian Ocean Commission may bring about a dramatic change in events in the region ●

REPORT ON ECA MEETING IN ADDIS ABABA

London WEST AFRICA in English 9 May 83 pp 1104-1105

[Text] "IF WE fail to live up to the responsibility history entrusted to the present generation of Africa, we not only become the laughing stock of those who wish us to remain backward and the dumping ground of their goods but also historically accountable to the succeeding generations of Africa for shirking our duty". The words are those of the Ethiopian head of state, Chairman Mengistu Haile Marian, at the opening session of the three-day silver jubilee celebration of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. This was held at the ECA's headquarters here, the Africa Hall from April 27 to 29, in the presence of a number of invited guests, including the present chairman of the OAU, President arap Moi of Kenya, the presidents of Rwanda and Zambia, the Vice-Presidents of Botswana and Nigeria, the Prime Ministers of Gabon and Niger and the President of the Zaire legislative council.

The Mengistu speech struck the tone of strong heartsearching in among the celebrations. Indeed, although the style may have been different, the messages of the radical Ethiopian chairman, and the conservative Kenyan president were remarkably similar, in their message that, faced with the increasingly grave situation in Africa and the intransigence of developed countries, concerted action was necessary (that is particularly via the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action).

It is interesting to compare, for example the sections in the two speeches on food problems, which are at the moment very much in the forefront of African preoccupations. The Ethiopian leader said that "although Africa is endowed with immense agricultural resources, the region is presently dependent on grain charities of the

developed countries more than ever before because of the inability to properly utilise the land and because crop yields continue declining from year to year . . . Africa should make serious efforts to overcome her dependence urgently". After recalling the priority given to food and agriculture in the Lagos Plan of Action, he noted the numerous international reactions, and especially the recommendations on "food security" and "food strategies", and stressed that the developed countries should provide greater technological and financial support than they have been.

"Since this situation makes not only the economy but the very existence of developing countries dependent on them, food policy has become the main strategy of developed countries in their intention to perpetuate their control over developing countries."

The Kenyan President's view was that the food situation in Africa had deteriorated over the years "due mainly to adverse weather conditions, rising population, high cost of agricultural inputs and the declining external assistance. The African countries have resorted to massive food imports which drain our badly needed foreign exchange. In addition to the food imports, developed countries have tended to use food as a political weapon, to put pressure on the African independent countries in order to reduce the latter's political and economic independence". It was therefore imperative "that we all develop and implement national food policies to ascertain self-sufficiency in food."

All the speakers, looking back at the origins of the ECA, tended to draw attention to the political circumstances of its creation. As President arap Moi said, the

beginning of the ECA was in a UN General Assembly resolution in 1947, but there were three further attempts over the next ten years, during which period the powers concerned made it clear that "they were not prepared to relinquish their own economic grip. Neither were they ready to relinquish their own trading practices." After the launching in 1958 the structural membership was still far from satisfactory, he said. "Of the 15 countries recognised as full members, only eight were genuine independent African states, while six were European nations, including such colonial powers as Britain, France and Belgium, and the remaining member was — of all countries — the Union of South Africa."

So there followed another seven year period of struggle "to make the ECA meaningful and truly representative of Africa". By 1963 amendments to the original terms of reference resulted in the removal of South Africa and the withdrawal of certain other members. "And by 1965, the Commission became totally African, in the sense that its membership corresponded to the Organisation of African Unity."

One of the main themes of the meeting was the appreciation that many leaders expressed of the role of the ECA in the encouragement and setting up of different regional groupings, and the continuing decentralised effort of the ECA via its MULPOCs (the regional centres of the ECA in Tangier, Niamey, Yaounde, Gisenyi and Lusaka). This involvement of the ECA was symbolised by the ceremony, which took place during the three days of celebrations, for the admission of Rwanda into the Preferential Trade Area — which is the eighteen nation regional zone encouraged by the ECA in Eastern and Southern Africa, parallel to ECOWAS and the proposed Central African Economic Community.

In this context there was a particularly telling speech from the Vice-President of Botswana, Peter Mmusi, who, although, with Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique, is still not a member of the PTA, made a point of commending to the meeting the existence of SADCC, the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference, nine independent countries of Southern Africa whose principal aid is reduction of dependence on South Africa. Mr. Mmusi first of all noted the menial institutions of

the grouping, designed to reduce its cost, but stressed the SADCC view that the organisation "is a practical expression of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos. it is a new organisation which is in very much of a hurry because of the pressing and urgent developmental problems facing our region. The critical factor," he said, "is that the SADCC commands the political will of our leaders. In our short experience a strong political will is a *sine qua non* for any regional grouping."

An interesting counterpoint among the multitude of speeches made by outside observers came from comparing the statements made by the representative of West Germany (speaking in the name of the EEC) and the spokesman of the USSR delegation. The EEC statement served as it were, as a substantive definition of Western positions, in view of the short and empty message from President Reagan. For the EEC, the pitch was very much one of "interdependence", ("our trade with developing countries represents 40 per cent of our total foreign trade") and the various manifestations of European development policy, the reverse side of which was the Soviet statement that they consistently opposed attempts to divide Africa into "spheres of influence", and stood for "the legitimate right of each nation to solve its internal problems by itself without any interference from outside", which was not very different from what the EEC spokesman had just said.

Another theme of many speakers, in their attempts to analyse present discontents, broached more the realm of the psychology of decolonisation. Picking up Mengistu's warning quoted above, the Botswana Vice-President said: "It is an affront to the dignity of Africans that at this day and age Africa should remain a basjet case and a continent synonymous with starving children." He, too, was disturbed by what he called "this hopeless path of food dependency", wondering if "the psychological impact of colonialism was probably more traumatic than we imagined. Often what we do and say in the political and economic field is a mimicry of foreigners. We are yet to think and act in harmony with the realities of our continent and the African experience. Perhaps 25 years is too short a period for a people to exorcise the mental dependence engendered by centuries of colonial domination". The "bulk of the blame", he said,

"now lies with us, the indigenous leaders of Africa".

The same probing at the deep roots of Africa's current condition was apparent from the closing keynote speech of the ECA Executive Secretary, Dr. Adebayo Adedeji, prior to the final act of the celebrations, the reading of a Silver Jubilee Addis Ababa Declaration, agreed on by the annual Council of Ministers meeting which preceded and followed the main events. The Executive Secretary tried to take a more positive approach to present anxieties, but he touched the same nerve when he said "while it is true that our

economies still remain economically backward and that we are faced today with a menacing crisis that challenges our very survival, it will be a disservice to ourselves to fail to fully appreciate the solid achievement which we have made in all sectors, particularly in the social sector, and in the provision of infrastructural facilities. Indeed, it is almost blasphemous to compare our performance with that during the colonial era, as the *raison d'être* of colonialism was to subjugate, exploit and humiliate us". One very important lesson was that "dependent development would lead us nowhere fast".

CSO: 3400/1439

REPORTAGE ON OATUU'S TENTH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE

Celebrations Begin

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 26 Apr 83 pp 1, 6

[Text] The Organisation of the African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) begins the celebration of its tenth anniversary today with a conference which opens at the assembly hall of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council (NRDC-CPSC) here.

The OATUU, whose secretariat is located in Accra, Ghana, was founded in Addis Ababa in 1973.

Seventy two national trade unions embracing over ten million members have been registered as full-fledged members of the OATUU.

The OATUU, which follows a firm anti-apartheid, anti-colonialist and anti-zionist stand, will observe April 30, 1983 as a day of solidarity with the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, and the liberation movements of Namibia and Palestine and to express support to the Ethiopian Revolution.

Meanwhile, a large number of delegates from member countries of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) have begun to arrive here starting Sunday for the celebrations of the OATUU tenth anniversary.

They include Comrade Elias Masashi of Tanzania who is Vice-President of the OATUU, Comrade Denis Akumu, Secretary-General of OATUU, and delegations from Algeria, Libya, Guinea, Gabon, Congo, Mauritania and Tanzania.

In a press statement he gave yesterday on arrival here to take part in the 10th anniversary celebration of the OATUU due to begin today, Mr. Denis Akumu said that African countries should strengthen their unity and mutual cooperation to defend their economic and political freedom and to uphold their national and continental dignity.

Mr. Akumu pointed out that Africans should consolidate their political unity and cooperation to overcome their present state of backwardness and to secure total independence.

Answering questions on the achievements of the OATUU in the past decade of its existence, Mr. Akumu said that the organization played a significant role in drawing together the trade unions of African countries for a common struggle and added that it made considerable effort to obtain assistance for the national liberation movements.

The organization solicited international support for the independence struggle of Zimbabwe and also contributed a lot to the struggle against the racist regime of South Africa, said Mr. Akumu. At present it is extending support to the independence struggle of Namibia, the Secretary-General of OATUU pointed out.

Mr. Akumu also noted that the 10th anniversary celebration of the OATUU, which is being held here, will provide a good opportunity to the participating leaders and representatives of trade unions to have first hand experience of the achievements of the Ethiopian Revolution.

Also yesterday Brother Jaloud Secretary-General of the Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, and delegations of the trade unions of Syria, Egypt, Jordan and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahirya arrived here to take part in the 10th anniversary celebration of the OATUU.

The Secretary-General of the Confederation of the Arab Trade Unions urged that workers of the Arab and African countries should coordinate their struggle to deal with the injustices committed by Zionists and racists as well as their patron--American imperialism. (ENA)

#### General Council Session

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 27 Apr 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] The Eighth Session of the General Council of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) opened here yesterday with keynote address by Comrade Berhanu Bayih, PMAC Standing Committee member, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs and COPWE Executive Committee member.

The two-day session, which will be followed by the 10th anniversary celebration of the OATUU, is being held at the Central Planning Supreme Council (CPSC).

Comrade Berhanu said that the fact that the Eighth Session of the General Council of OATUU is being held here was not only a testimony of the active participation of the All Ethiopia Trade Union (AETU) in the activities of OATUU but is also an affirmation of Ethiopia's firm commitment to the cause of African workers.

The OATUU, said Comrade Berhanu, has a meaningful role to play in the economic, social, political and cultural advancement of the peoples of Africa and in their struggle to ensure social justice.

"OATUU has a significant role in the implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action pertaining to the effective utilisation of Africa's vast human

resources and particularly in the achievement of increased self-sufficiency and self-sustainment, human resources development through participation efforts to eliminate illiteracy, development of indigenous entrepreneurial technical manpower and technological abilities to enable the African peoples to assure greater responsibility for the achievement of individual as well as collective development goals," said Comrade Berhanu.

The activities carried out by the OATUU in pursuance of its objectives, said Comrade Berhanu, are quite remarkable. Its achievements in the field of workers' education through seminars, colloquia and symposia which help African workers to improve their capabilities and enable them to play their historic role in the struggle to free Africa from underdevelopment both at the African and international levels are quite remarkable, said Comrade Berhanu.

However, in the light of the grace situation of workers in Africa as a result of sufferings from multinationals and apartheid, OATUU should redouble its efforts to play a more meaningful role in the political, economic, social and cultural advancement of the workers of the continent, Comrade Berhanu further stressed.

After pointing out that the Revolutionary Government of Socialist Ethiopia Trade Union attach a great deal of importance to the objectives of OATUU, Comrade Berhanu reviewed bitter struggle waged by Ethiopian workers against the defunct feudo-bourgeois regime as well as against internal and external enemies who were seeking to undermine the revolutionary process.

Comrade Berhanu expressed confidence in this connection that Ethiopian workers would continue to be consciously engaged in the establishment of the party of the working people of Ethiopia with the zeal and courage they had maintained throughout the last nine years.

Comrade Berhanu said that the organization of trade unions comprising a membership of over 260,000 workers would help in the effort to realize a new socialist order in Ethiopia. In this regard, he mentioned the involvement of the AETU in the effort to heighten the political consciousness of workers and in the 10-year perspective plan aimed at bringing about radical economic, social and political changes.

He expressed sincere hope that the impact of the struggle and the victory of the Ethiopian working people would help enhance the emancipation of the African workers and contribute to the struggle of the working people the world over.

Comrade Berhanu brought to the attention of the gathering the need to consider issues which have direct or indirect bearing on the welfare of the African worker such as the issue of armament. Exposing the dangerous arms build-up being pursued under the leadership of U.S. imperialism, Comrade Berhanu said "OATUU is duty-bound to struggle against this threat to the security of mankind."



Comrade Berhanu hoped that the meeting will come out with concrete outcome relevant to the needs and demands of the African working masses and urged African workers to remain vigilant against the activities of trade unions in the continent by imperialist conspiracies.

#### Nine-Point Resolution

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 29 Apr 83 pp 1, 5

[Text] The Eighth Session of the General Council of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) ended here Wednesday night by adopting nine-point resolution on strengthening the freedom and rights of African workers and non-interference by outsiders in their affairs.

The two-day meeting, which was held at the Central Planning Supreme Council, also adopted a declaration on the 10th Anniversary Celebrations of the OATUU calling for "the redemption of mother Africa."

In its solemn 10th anniversary declaration, the OATUU General Council called on Africans of all walks of life, more particularly on heads of state and government, "to mobilize all people towards development and for the total political and economic liberation of the continent, if the present seriously deteriorating political and economic trend in Africa is to be reversed."

The OATUU leadership on its part pledged to defend African workers and their trade unions against the violation of their rights and to foster the development of strong and viable trade unions in Africa capable of participating effectively in national development as genuine partners of development. It also committed itself to project internationally the true personality of the African worker to revive his culture and to fight against all types of discrimination and indignity whether in southern Africa or abroad. Further, it pledged to work for the restructuring and revolutionizing the economies of African countries with a view to achieving total economic liberation through direct worker's and peasant's participation and to make development beneficial for the majority of the African masses.

The OATUU also resolved to work for the elimination of corruption, mismanagement and nepotism and expose without malice all practices of corruption which are hinderance to Africa's socio-economic progress.

It reaffirmed its support and commitment to the principles of non-alignment and to peace and disarmament noting that peoples of the world could only enjoy life better at times of peace and stability.

A resolution on the security of African migrant workers and their protection, called upon African governments to desist from expelling workers from their countries noting such actions weaken the spirit of brotherhood among Africans as well as unity and cooperation among states at sub-regional and regional levels. It also called upon the OAU Secretary-General to expedite action on the drafting of the African convention on migrant workers in close collaboration with the OATUU Secretariat.

In a resolution on freedom and trade union rights, the OATUU called upon member states of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to ratify the African charter the "African Charter on Human and People's Rights," and in so doing, to demonstrate to the world and particularly to South Africa the concern of Africans for human right and dignity. It deplored the continued detention of trade unionists in Morocco and the Central African Republic and demanded their immediate release.

In another resolution it called for the strengthening of the Pan-African Trade Union federations through the active participation of national trade unions so that the federations could consolidate trade union unity at the industrial and professional levels. The OATUU welcomed and congratulated the Nigerian Labour Congress and the General Union of Trade Unions of Libya for inviting to host the founding congresses of the Pan-African Federation of Printers, Journalists, Cultural, Information and Allied Workers and the Pan-African Federation of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institutions.

The third resolution dealt with strengthening relations with trade unions in Latin America, Asia, the Caribbean, the Pacific and in other non-aligned countries for the possibility of establishing trade union coordinating committee of non-aligned states that would consult on all matters of interest during the meetings of the International Labour Organization (ILO).

In a resolution on foreign trade union interferences in Africa, the OATUU vehemently condemned the neo-colonial attitude of those organizations towards the OATUU and their subtle interferences in the internal affairs of African labour movement both at national and continental levels. It also called upon its members and affiliates to desist from joining or associating themselves with such organizations and to remain alert and vigilant against the intrigues and manoeuvres of these organizations aimed at undermining trade union unity in Africa.

The resolution further demanded these organizations "to close down the divisive so-called regional organizations offices and to concentrate instead, if they are sincere about their cooperation with Africa, to further strengthen their relations with the mother organization--the OATUU--and its affiliates."

A resolution on world peace and disarmament appealed to all African national trade unions to educate the working masses on the dangers of a nuclear war and strongly and unswervingly campaign against it. The resolution also called for the reconversion of huge military expenditure into sound development programmes to alleviate poverty, illiteracy, disease and hunger which affect millions of people the world over.

In a resolution on African trade union conference on rural development, food production and war on hunger to be held in Mozambique by the end of this year, the OATUU said it was deeply concerned with the deteriorating situation of food production and the general economic decline in Africa. It urged OAU member states to wage war on hunger by implementing individually and collectively the objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action for the economic

development of Africa for the years 1980-2000 and free the continent from hunger and famine.

It also congratulated the national production council of Mozambique and the government of Mozambique for accepting to host the first African trade union conference on rural development, food production and war on hunger, and appealed to member unions to make the necessary preparation to attend and contribute to the success of the conference.

The eighth resolution, on the writing of the history of African trade union movement, has mandated the OATUU Secretariat to seek financial, technical and scientific means for the project and to invite veteran African trade unionists, researchers, academics as well as foreign institutions and organizations to take part in it.

The ninth resolution on workers' education urged the intensification of educational activities for workers at national sub-regional, regional and pan-African levels and also called for co-operation with universities and other training institutions with a view to qualifying workers' education.

#### Solidarity Rally

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 29 Apr 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] Participants of the 10th Anniversary Celebrations and the Eighth General Council Session of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) staged a day-long rally here yesterday in support of the peoples and workers of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine and the Ethiopian Revolution.

The guests of honour at the rally held at the Central Planning Supreme Council was Comrade Berhanu Bayih, PMAC Standing Committee Member, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs and COPWE Executive Committee Member, who also addressed the gathering. [as published]

Other speakers included the President and Secretary-General of the OATUU, representatives of the U.N. Anti-apartheid Committee, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the South African Congress of Trade Union (SACTU), the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), the Palestinian Trade Unions Federation (PTUF) and the Pan-African Congress (PAC) of South Africa as well as representatives of International Trade Union Movements and Fraternal Unions and Delegates.

Comrade Berhanu Bayih reminded the gathering that international imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and zionism which oppressed workers everywhere were presently posing a great threat to international peace and stability. He said that U.S. imperialism is cynically engaged in building destructive nuclear arms and establishing military bases all over the world, while the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine remain relegated to a life of squalor and misery.

He said that despite racist South Africa's attitude that freedom is something dispensed with like crumbs and despite its futile and hypocritical

act of Bantustanization of hoarding human beings into desolate and barren preserves, no amount of racist atrocity can turn back the wheels of history and that the gallant black people of South Africa shall ultimately wrest their freedom and independence through bitter struggle.

Comrade Berhanu stated that imperialism was using Pretoria as its gendarme to destabilize progressive governments in southern Africa and reiterated Ethiopia's strong condemnation of the interference, aggression and all untoward acts by the fascist Pretoria regime against Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and other Front-line countries.

On Namibia, he said that although SWAPO is on the threshold of victory, imperialism and apartheid are frantically manoeuvring to frustrate the aspirations of the people and steal the fruits of victory. He denounced the attempt by the American Administration to link the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola to Namibian independence. He said the undisguised purpose of this policy is to prevent SWAPO from assuming power and delay Namibia's independence by hoodwinking world public opinion.

On Palestine, Comrade Berhanu noted that the Palestinians had been deprived of their land and freedom for ages and are suffering untold crimes. He said that the gruelling massacre recently perpetrated in Lebanon by imperialism and the arrogant Israeli ruling classes against the people of Palestine and Lebanon was a matter of extreme anguish and sorrow. He expressed confidence that the struggle of the Palestinian people shall triumph and enable the people to regain their full rights.

On the rally's solidarity with the Ethiopian Revolution, Comrade Berhanu noted that Africa and the rest of the world have always expressed their firm support to the struggle of the Ethiopian people, since the onset of the Revolution. He expressed profound thanks of the People and Government of Revolutionary Ethiopia for the delegates for their solidarity which, he said, would impart resilience to the struggle of the Ethiopian people and deepen their lofty goals. Comrade Berhanu also expressed firm conviction that the realization of these goals would not only, totally emancipate the working people of Ethiopia but also help to further enhance the liberation and emancipation of the working people in Africa and elsewhere.

The other speakers condemned, the collusion between international imperialism, apartheid and zionism and forces of reaction in perpetuating oppression against peoples in southern Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean. They also voiced full support for and solidarity with the struggle of the peoples and workers of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine.

They also noted with appreciations, the immense contributions made by Socialist Ethiopia for the freedom movements in general and for the liberation struggle in southern Africa in particular, citing the assistance given to Zimbabwe on the eve of independence as praiseworthy.

The speeches were followed with film show on the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine.

## Solidarity Declaration

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 1 May 83 pp 1, 5

[Text] The Eighth Session of the General council of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) which also celebrated here the 10th anniversary of the Organization has issued a declaration on solidarity with the workers of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine.

The OATUU General Council which ended its two-day deliberations on Wednesday had also held a rally at the Central Planning Supreme Council on Thursday in solidarity with the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine and in support of the Ethiopian Revolution.

In its solidarity declaration, the OATUU made an urgent appeal to all African workers to contribute to "the OATUU Solidarity Fund for Liberation" and increase their material and moral support to the fighting masses of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine. It also called on the international community to increase material and political assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine.

The OATUU strongly condemned the policy of repression in South Africa and Namibia by the racist whites and the zionists in Palestine as characterised by arbitrary imprisonments, summary executions and massacre of patriots and workers such as the barbarous killing of Soweto in 1976 and of Sabra and Chatilia in 1982. It demanded the immediate and unconditional release of all trade union and political prisoners as well as other detainees in South Africa, Namibia and in zionist "prisons and concentration camps." It also called for the application of the status of prisoner of war to the freedom fighters in South Africa, Namibia and Palestine.

The OATUU also demanded the strict application of the U.N. and OAU sanctions against South Africa, particularly those of the Security Council requesting mandatory embargo on supply of oil and petroleum products and the strict applications of the arms embargo.

The OATUU rejected the constitutional proposals of the racist Pretoria regime to establish a tripartite parliament for whites, the coloured and the Indians with the view to isolating the African majority. It also denounced imperialist manoeuvres, particularly of the Reagan administration, tending to delay the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

It reaffirmed its support for the return of Palestinians to their homeland and the right to self-determination and for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the homeland under the leadership of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

In a motion of support to the revolutionary people of Ethiopia, the OATUU expressed deep gratitude to the All Ethiopia Trade Union and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs for hosting the Eighth Session of its General Council and the 10th anniversary celebration of the foundation of the OATUU.

The OATUU warmly hailed the Revolutionary Government of Socialist Ethiopia for the support it continues to give to the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia. The leadership of the OATUU also reiterated its admiration and total support for the literacy campaign and for the sustained efforts the Revolutionary Government is ever making to reorganize the working people and other sectors of the society in accordance with its objectives.

The OATUU noted with satisfaction the efforts COPWE is making to establish the party of the working people and expressed total support and enthusiasm for the attainment of this noble objective. (ENA)

CSO: 3400/1434

## AMBASSADOR OUTLINES COOPERATION WITH ITALY

MB241433 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 23 May 83

[Text] The Angolan ambassador to Rome, Telmo de Almeida, described Angolan-Italian relations as being in a stage of gradual development, and he said that some projects are expected (?to begin) in September under the terms of the meeting of the two countries' joint commission which is taking place in Luanda. Speaking to ANGOP the ambassador said that such cooperation covers mainly food and light industries, oil exploration, the training of cadres, and fishing. He said that cooperation will soon cover university education.

A fishing project is in progress, and this includes the purchase of 15 vessels from Italy, and the construction of houses for workers by an Italian firm, and a dock to unload fish, in the Porto Amboim area. This project has been estimated at \$60 million. It is also expected that an Italian company will fish the Porto Amboim region.

The Angolan diplomat said that all these projects necessarily imply that Angolan cadres will be trained, and this training is usually granted by the general directorate for cooperation of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which in fact has already granted Angola [wored indistinct] students to be trained in the fields of oil exploration and refinery, and also in the fields of hotel industry and agriculture.

Ambassador Telmo de Almedia said that the FAO has been cooperating with Angola since 1977 in small agricultural projects, and that the World Food Program is taking part in the recuperation of state coffee farms and the dairy industry.

CSO; 3442/243

## UNICEF TEAM REPORTS ON FOOD SHORTAGE, HEALTH PROJECTS

London AFRICA NOW in English No 24, Apr 83 p 30

[Text]

**The continuing war in Angola is bleeding the country's resources. However, this has not prevented significant, though limited, gains on the development front, as a UNICEF team recently discovered**

There is little doubt that the present military and political situation is imposing very severe constraints upon the Angolan Government's development efforts. The Emergency Plan 1981-1985 puts domestic food production as the first priority. In practice, defence occupies that position. Defence spending accounts for 25% of the budget and 50% of the now declining foreign exchange earnings from the depressed markets for oil, diamonds and coffee.

This emerged during the visit to Angola in February of representatives from 12 National Committees for UNICEF in Europe.

The Vice-Minister for Planning gave two examples of this worsening domestic situation. The government is intending to launch an international appeal for \$100/\$200m of food aid. Food rationing presently exists in Luanda and food shortages are particularly acute in the war-affected Central and Southern Regions. In the social sphere there are no plans to build any new schools in 1983, despite the rapid rise in primary school enrolments, from around half a million at independence to 1.8m in 1981/82.

In Bengo Province, north of Luanda, UNICEF is the leading UN agency for the installation of clean water supplies. Water pumps, many made in India, can be installed within a week. But as yet only 10% of Angola's rural population has

access to piped water. Parallel to this programme, children from the provinces are being vaccinated by mobile teams against measles, diphtheria, whooping-cough, tetanus and tuberculosis.

One of the most sensitive areas is the Central Highlands where drought and war have combined to produce a displaced population estimated at nearly 650,000. Children comprise 40% of this total. In Bié Province 15 new villages have been created to house this displaced population. Food shortages at present mean that only one meal a day can be provided for the villagers. Moreover, continued disruption of the Benguela rail link with the port of Lobito has prevented any emergency supplies reaching the province by rail since last November.

Despite these circumstances efforts are being made at the Secretariat of State for Social Affairs to cope with the 3,600 orphaned or abandoned children through the development of children's homes (woefully inadequate as yet to meet the demand) and a pre-school system. The UNICEF group also visited Kwanzo-Sul Province to see integrated health projects.

It became clear that the most pressing constraint on development is still the lack of trained people at almost all levels of the economic and social system. After over seven years of independence, literacy is a mere 22%. Nevertheless, the government has committed itself to providing eight years of free and compulsory schooling after the age of six. The many kindergartens in Luanda and the provinces are now open to a wide social intake and are viewed as part of the strategy to ensure more equal rights for women. Women's subordination, said Lucio Lara, party secretary and number two in the government, was a traditional problem and not simply the result of colonisation or racism.



Lara made a plea for more resources for agencies like UNICEF to work, firstly, on behalf of all Third World countries, then, more particularly, those in Southern Africa — and only finally for Angola. This low-key approach was echoed at the Ministry of External Affairs. The socialist path was clearly stated, but this did not preclude co-operation with non-socialist governments and such co-operation was viewed as important ●

CSO: 3400/1451

## 'ANGOP' CRITICIZES 'DOCTORS WITHOUT BORDERS'

AB201540 Luanda ANGOP in French 1100 GMT 20 May 83

[ANGOP editorial: "No Border, No Shame"]

[Text] Luanda, 20 May (ANGOP)--An organization of opportunistic doctors calling itself "Doctors Without Borders" has in recent times chosen the People's Republic of Angola as its favorite site for excursions in the service of forces perfectly identifiably with international reactionaries. Unsatisfied with the violation of sovereign borders of independent states on three continents, these professionals, pretending to be worried about the health of the people of the Third World, always choose as companions forces engaged in destabilizing countries that have opted for progressive and non-capitalist development. By choosing to transform their so-called philanthropic intentions into a clear advertisement for the activities of armed bandits who kill and terrorize peaceful and hard-working people, these doctors without patients who offer their services for imperialist dollars are revealing their true nature.

Not long ago, the "president" of these "Doctors Without Borders" illegally landed somewhere in the province of Moxico as part of a trip organized by the secret service of Pretoria with the "kind" complicity of an African neighbor north of Angola. In the Angolan territory, the "president" of "Doctors Without Borders" calmly watched, undisturbed, an attack by the puppets against the civilian populations of an area near the rail line of Benguela, and by his presence became an accomplice to the crime committed. Back in his country, Mr "President" made loud statements on French television openly praising the leader of the "apartheid-backed" bandits, and even proposed to send in the same clandestine way a group of his agents with medical supplies and food to help alleviate the logistical difficulties facing the man who is engaged in treason and antirevolutionary activities.

But the "Doctors Without Borders" are not alone. Other political forces are moving fast in France to give new life to UNITA puppets. They want to return the political credibility that the new French Government rightly reduced to its ridiculous dimension. A so-called Internal Committee of Resistance, patronized by Jean-Francois Revel, publisher of the weekly L'EXPRESS, Olivier Todd, a reporter of the same periodical, and by these "Doctors Without Borders" whose headquarters is situated in the principal and most elegant

avenue of the French capital, resolved to promote several activities for the armed bandits, who, in Angola and Mozambique, kidnap expatriate technical assistants, destroy important properties, and indolently assassinate civilians.

The grand "spectacle" began on 16 May 1983 at the Lutecia Hotel with a press conference and continued 2 days with a support meeting at the great hall of the Mutualite Palace, which in the past, by sheer irony, housed antifascist and antiapartheid activities.

In the interest of good relations between the two countries, which while trying to overcome their difficulties in the past were able to adopt a correct and mutually advantageous cooperation, it would be useful for the French Government not to allow these rioters with neither borders nor shame, wishing to dangerously dampen the healthy climate of total understanding between the two sovereign and independent states, to increase their activities on its territory.

CSO: 3419/938

UNITA RADIO REPORTS FALA ACTIONS 16-30 APRIL

MB230939 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockrel in Portuguese to Angola 0430 GMT 20 May 83

[Text] Implementing the thoughts of the supreme commander, General Savimbi, the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] have been forged in the unwavering struggle against the enemy and in the intransigent defense of the cause of the oppressed people of Angola. The long path of the struggle has galvanized the people's armed wing. Drawing inspiration from the history of our oppressed people, it is daily winning victories to destroy all the obstacles found on its path. The FALA continues to display its bravery, striking capability, and resolve to drive from the fatherland's soil any Russian and Cuban rabble and to destroy the gang of traitors and chieftains illegally in power in Luanda.

In this context, from 16 to 30 April this year the gallant FALA combatants carried out a number of military operations, and we now are going to report some of them.

In Huambo Province, on 20 April 1983 UNITA forces ambushed an enemy force between Mungo and Bailundo. The attack resulted in the death of 25 People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] soldiers and the capture of 5 other FAPLA soldiers. The following items of war were captured: 2 (?PKM's), 1 RBD, 14 G-3's, 17 Russian Mausers, and 1 anti-aircraft gun of 14.5-mm caliber. Six vehicles were destroyed in the attack.

On 21 April, FALA forces stormed and captured the (Casabao) enemy barracks in Bailundo, where the MPLA lackeys had assembled (?some youths) who were awaiting to be shipped to Cuba. In the operation our forces killed 27 FAPLA traitors and freed 68 youths.

In Moxico Province, on 21 April UNITA forces attacked a company of FAPLA traitors, reinforced by one platoon of Cubans, who were guarding the bridge over the (Maquenhe) River on the Cuvango-Teixeira de Sousa Highway. In the operation 16 FAPLA traitors and 1 Cuban were killed. Our forces captured 33 individual weapons, 3 82-mm mortars, 75-mm cannon, 1 RBD, 3 (?PKM's), 6 cases with RPG-7 shells, 1 radio transmitter, 4 radio receivers, and combat rations.

In Bie Province, on 23 April FALA forces attacked an enemy motorized column between Chitembo and Bie. Seven vehicles were destroyed: one Ural truck, four stars, one Gaz, and one KRAZ. Our forces killed 23 FAPLA traitors and 6 Cuban mercenaries. Our forces captured 2 Czechoslovak-made AK rifles, 6 RBD's, 2 Russian Mausers, 2 German Mausers, 2 RPG-7's 2 (?RPD's), 1 82-mm mortar, 1 [word indistinct], 7 wooden cases of ammunition of various caliber, 127 bombs, and civilian and military clothes.

Also in Bie Province, on 30 April an assault operation was mounted on the (Monge) and Nova Sintra Commune headquarters by the gallant FALA combatants. The inner area of the commune was hit. Our forces achieved the following results: They partially destroyed the [name indistinct] and Angolan Fuel Company [SONANGOL] installations; they destroyed the post office building; they totally destroyed the Plan R Command Post, resulting in the confirmed deaths of 19 FAPLA traitors, 2 Cubans, 2 officers of the so-called state security, and 2 Portuguese electricians; they destroyed 12 trucks, and they captured 42 individual weapons, 6 Czechoslovak-made bazookas, 3 RPG-2's, and 2 82-mm mortars.

In Cuando Cubango Province, on 25 April an enemy battalion was attacked on the Mocamedes railway line along the (Kuchi-Lwachenga) section. It must be stressed that the battalion had been dispatched there to prevent the normal march of Czechoslovak nationals captured by UNITA or even to rescue them. In the action our forces confirmed the deaths of 35 FAPLA traitors and captured 21 weapons.

During the period between 16 and 30 April 1983, the year of the anti-Cuban effort, our glorious FALA lost four comrades and nine others were wounded.

The nation is not a matter for discussion; it is to be defended. Kafundanga is an example that we must follow. The struggle triumphs. United around Comrade President Dr Savimbi we will win.

CSO: 3442/243

SADCC OFFICIAL DISCUSSES TRANSPORTATION PROJECTS

AB241248 Luanda Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 24 May 83

[Text] The chairman of the coordination committee of transport and communications for the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, SADCC, Alcantara Santos, said in an interview in Luanda that the SADCC projects given priority are correct, hence the criminal and constant attacks by the Pretoria regime against these projects.

Alcantara Santos, the Mozambican ministers of ports and transports, further added that the first phase of the project lies in the extending to the maximum infrastructures existing in each SADCC member country, especially ports and railways. These projects are financed mainly by the Nordic countries--Switzerland, Finland, Denmark and Norway--through their agencies for international development. The commission of transport and communications for SADCC has received also substantial support from the African Development Bank and Arab funds given in this assistance in cooperation from region to region, Al cantara Santos went on.

The strategy of SADCC in the field of transport and communication lies in improving infrastructures inherited from colonialism and lessening dependence on the European countries in the telecommunications field.

CSO; 3400/1467

BENIN

BRIEFS

KEREKOU PROMOTED--President Kérékou has been promoted from Colonel to Brigade General by the Bureau Politique of the Central Committee of the Popular Party for the Revolution. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 2 May 83 p 1092]

CSO: 3400/1442

## BRIGHTER PROSPECTS FOR RECONCILIATION NOTED

London AFRICA NOW in English No 25, May 83 p 28

[Text]

Prospects of reconciliation between Cameroon's ruling *Union Nationale Camerounaise* and the exiled *Union des Populations du Cameroun* have brightened with the arrival of Paul Biya as President in Yaounde. However, the process is likely to be a slow one, not least because the influence of former President Ahmadou Ahidjo is still enormously strong.

With encouragement from President Biya the UPC has announced that a dozen of its leaders will be going back to Cameroon "soon," but the party is still highly suspicious of the government's motives, and would like to be absolutely certain that most of its leadership will not be promptly thrown into jail on arrival.

The announcement of the return of the exiles came in two press conferences given by the UPC, in Paris on February 25 and in Strasbourg, where there is a large population of Cameroonians, on March 22. It was coupled with an appeal to sympathisers for funds to allow the party leaders to go back to Cameroon and become established.

Yet even as UPC deputy secretary-general Simeon Kuissu was speaking in Strasbourg, where he was once a hospital doctor, the UNC central committee in Yaounde was deciding that general elections should be held on May 29, on a strictly one-party basis. Any further moves by either side immediately seemed unlikely until the elections are well out of the way.

The decision to make overtures to Biya was taken at the UPC's first congress in 30 years after the new President had followed his takeover last November 6 with the release of a number of political prisoners. It is understood that the French Government agreed to put in a word, and

Biya's response came on the steps of the Elysee Palace after talks with president Francois Mitterrand during his first visit to Paris as head of state in early February.

Biya's line was that UPC members were welcome to return, but there was no question of the party being recognised legally. In response Dr Kuissu said that he and his colleagues would not be going back "in a spirit of defiance." They wanted to live and work in Cameroon "but without renouncing our political convictions."

Dr Kuissu accused the UNC of having a "tradition of violence," with some political prisoners still in jail 25 years after independence. And he rejected as "insulting to the Cameroon people" Biya's assertions that national unity was still "fragile" and the country was not yet mature enough for a multi-party system.

To Biya's claims that too many regional or ethnic parties would spring up, fuelling differences between North and South, the UPC pointed to the examples of Senegal and Nigeria.

The UPC is demanding that Biya free what it claims to be several thousand political prisoners and agree to give a much wider interpretation of clause three of Cameroon's constitution, which states that "political parties or groups may take part in elections subject to the law and the principle of democracy and of national sovereignty and unity."

The UPC, which gave the spark to Cameroon nationalism after the Second World War and staged an abortive revolt against French rule in 1955, has not forgotten the UNC campaign against it after independence, and still reveres as martyrs men like Ernest Ouendie, who was executed in 1971 after leading a



guerrilla war against the Yaounde regime. But whether it could regain the support it had under leaders like Felix Moumie remains to be seen.

Even if its current leaders eventually return the authorities are bound to keep a very close eye on them, and impose a strict ban on political activity. Its prospects of gaining a significant share in power, or even a following of workers and peasants for a party led primarily by intellectuals appear remote, and especially so as long as former President Ahidjo hangs on to his position as chairman of the UNC.

Less than three months after his surprise retirement from the Presidency, supposedly on health grounds, Ahidjo was back on the political scene, when it emerged that he had been personally responsible for the sacking in January of four leading UNC officials, including deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, Moussa Yaya, one of his closest advisers for 24 years.

It appeared that the four had opposed Biya's appointment as President, and Yaya for one had lobbied against it in the north, his own home region and that of Ahidjo (Biya is a southern Catholic). The expulsions, with automatic loss of parliamentary seats, were the first since the UNC was founded in 1966.

In a week-long tour of six provinces in February Ahidjo called in a series of speeches for "a strong fight against every attempt at division, every intrigue or poisonous campaign, every tribalistic or sectarian spirit." And he warned that any action contrary to national unity, at any level, would not be tolerated.

Ahidjo urged "total and unreserved support" for Biya, but asserted that he had no intention of sharing power with the new President, who was "head of state totally." But he said that there was "a complement between his activities and mine," and added menacingly: "Some people would prefer not to see me in Yaounde again, but they will have to get used to my presence" ●

CSO: 3400/1415

## GOVERNMENT DEALS WITH NATIONALITIES QUESTION

London AFRICA NOW in English May 83 p 22

[Text] The military government in Ethiopia has finally taken the long overdue step of setting up an Institute of Nationalities. The idea was first proposed publicly in 1976, as part of the National Democratic Revolution Programme, but it has been the subject of much controversy. Since 1974 the central government has been faced by an ever-increasing number of insurrectionary movements among various of the "nationalities" of Ethiopia, including at least four in Eritrea.

These groups, some of which are externally based and supported, have a variety of aims. Most pay lip-service at least, as the Ethiopian regime does, to Marxism-Leninism and the socialist path of development. The Eritrean movements have a firm commitment, at least in public, to independence. Most of the others are largely committed to "self-determination," a fluid concept that they seldom define.

In fact, it is as fluid as the Ethiopian government's own concept of "regional autonomy." The policy of regional autonomy was actually announced in 1976 and offered to Eritreans as part of the nine point peace plan that same year. It was rejected out of hand. Virtually no progress has been made in setting up any autonomous region or towards spelling out the reality of such a policy.

A preliminary effort was made in the case of one group, the Afar nationality. A congress for Afars was called in eastern Ethiopia in early 1977. Afars from the regions of Eritrea, Tigre, Assab, Wollo, Shoa and Hararghe all attended as did some from Djibouti. The congress unanimously supported the idea of an Afar region and called for its immediate implementation. The regime made no effort to accept such a demand; it did, however, allow a political group which was prepared to co-operate with it, the Afar National Liberation Movement, to

organise in Afar areas. Over the next couple of years members of the ANLM took over virtually all official posts at local level, were put in charge of security in Afar areas, of political cadres and political education, and of the literacy campaign. Afar is one of the 15 languages being used in the campaign which has so far reduced illiteracy by 50%, in the last four years.

There have been a few other indications recently that the government is, very cautiously, laying the groundwork necessary to try and satisfy some of the legitimate aspirations of the nationalities for a greater share in government. A number of Somalis have been appointed to provincial governorships in Hararghe region, five in all, and to other posts at provincial and district level. A positive, if small scale effort is also being made to appoint Oromos, Tigreans and members of other ethnic groups in their own areas as representatives of the Commission to Organise a Party of the Workers of Ethiopia (COPWE).

However, the criticism levelled against the central government of being too Amhara-dominated still remains true. COPWE's own central committee is 75% Amhara. A similar imbalance (Amhara make up some 23% of the population of Ethiopia) can be seen in the senior ranks of the army and administration.

But the relationship between the nationalities is a complex one. The military regime, for example, stresses that there are nine nationalities in Eritrea; it therefore discounts Eritrean claims to be a nation. Then there are many smaller groups within largely Oromo areas, and minorities living in the region of Tigray, the whole of which is claimed by the TPLF.

For this reason, if no other, the first task of the government's new Institute will be to identify the actual number of

nationalities and the areas they inhabit. There are over 80 and a total of about 280 languages and dialects spoken within Ethiopia's present boundaries. The new Institute of Nationalities will also have the job of categorising the various stages of development reached by each group.

Most important of all it has been given the task of drawing up an administrative structure for possible autonomous regions, ultimately to provide a constitutional basis for a People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The whole of the structure when finalised will be controlled by the party, likely to be formally created in September 1984; at its January congress, COPWE's central committee decided the time was now ripe for the last phase of its own operations, drawing up a party programme and a party ideology.

The process of organising such an elaborate constitutional (and ideological) change will be long, complicated, difficult and sensitive. It even took COPWE a couple of years to find a chairman for its own nationalities committee; and the member of the military council who had the job last year, Captain Tamrat Ferede, was removed from his post in December.

Nor is it likely that the creation of an Institute of Nationalities will have much immediate effect on undercutting the support obtained by the various nationality movements and liberation fronts. After several years of armed struggle, or in the case of Eritrea after 21 years of fighting, the dissatisfied nationalities will need much more than this rather tentative step before they will be convinced of the regime's good faith ●

CSO: 3400/1441

## ETHIOPIA'S AFRICAN 'VOCATION' DISCUSSED

London WEST AFRICA in English 9 May 83 pp 1106-1107

[Matchet's Diary from Addis Ababa]

[Text] Little by little, the Ethiopian capital, is returning to its historic vocation as the soul and nerve centre of African unity. In a sense, the vocation never left it: the headquarters of the two major truly African organisations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Economic Commission for Africa (well, all right, the latter is actually a United Nations organism, but, as our main editorial asserted last week, there is a special sense in which the ECA belongs to Africa). There had been a period after the Ethiopian revolution, and the eclipse of the Emperor Haile Selassie, whose gnomonic figure had watched so benevolently over the early years of both organisations, when it seemed as if Ethiopia might be in danger of surrendering its role in Africa. On the one hand there was some local hostility to the organisations, not to mention a measure of physical danger. On the other hand other African countries, spotting the possible vacation of a throne, seemed to be muscling each other to fill it. But since the main candidates were Togo and Zaïre, each with their own reasons for lacking credit in the continent, any movement to change the headquarters seemed to lack weight, and the fact that Ethiopia was now leaning to the Communist bloc seemed relatively unimportant as long as it was clear that the Ethiopians themselves genuinely wanted to maintain Addis Ababa as African capital, for which in some way it is really suited, for historical and geo-political reasons. For three years at least, relations between host country and the two organisations have improved, and the cordiality prevalent at the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the ECA was a sign

of the increasing awareness of the asset the Ethiopians know they possess here. Many people in Addis Ababa hope that the summit of the OAU in June, to be held shortly after the 20th anniversary proper on May 25.

The beauty of the surroundings of this mist-filled basin, surrounded by hills, is still remarkable, and the public buildings erected in the Emperor's day wear remarkably well. Delegates to the jubilee were received in Haile Selassie's former palace, but one is told that the present head of state prefers to live and work in the old palace of the Emperor Menelik. The shanty towns that encroach right to the centre (if this is really a city with a centre) bear witness to the continuing poverty here, (although visitors are taken to important new housing schemes), and there is all sorts of evidence of the necessary maintenance of austerity. Chairman Mengistu himself, although all would agree this is a difficult country to govern, with wars continuing in some provinces, seems to have been gaining in authority. He was much in evidence at the celebrations, and his manner is easy and relaxed, without undue security trappings. Western diplomatic sources speak well of him, and there is much of evidence, that, in spite of close ties with the eastern bloc (especially in military assistance) and the Mark-Lenin-Engels posters that this is a country that will continue to strive to be genuinely non-aligned.

— Among the speeches at the Silver Jubilee, it was interesting to note that Vice-President Alex Ekwueme of Nigeria made a particular point of stressing President Shehu Shagari's close and long association with the ECA which he fondly

recalls". Nigeria had participated in the first session as an Associate member, and Shagari himself participated in the second session of the Commission in Tangier early in 1960, before Nigeria's independence. He also as Minister of Economic Development led the Nigerian delegation to the third session of the Commission in Addis Ababa in 1961, during which he was elected Vice-Chairman of the Commission. "He recalls vividly" said Vice-President Ekwueme "that one of the important topics discussed at that session was the effect of economic groupings in Europe on the African economies, a topical issue with which we in Africa are still grappling". President Shagari had also led the Nigerian delegation to the ministerial session in Tunis in 1971 "during which he urged the ECA to become more operationally involved in member states. He is particularly happy that some of his suggestions at that time are being taken into account and are yielding some dividends" (a reference to the famous MULPOCs).

## Gardiner honoured

It was encouraging to see, amid all the celebrations, the white-haired figure of Robert Gardiner, the former head of the Ghana civil service who was for 12 years the second Executive Secretary of the ECA, from 1963 to 1975, a period when the whole organisation of the Commission was consolidated, and many of the broad policy outlines now being pursued had their foundations laid. Perhaps the most eloquent tribute came, curiously enough, from Citoyen Nzondomyo Adokpe Lingo heading the delegation of Zaire (a country with which Gardiner was associated in the early sixties as head of the UN operation in the Congo). The Zairean recalled Gardiner's role in the setting up of the African Development Bank, the Institute of Development and Economic Planning, and the African Centre for Monetary Studies (the latter two are both in Dakar). The African Economic Charter of 1973 (approved by the OAU heads of state that year) was also due to the determination of three men — Gardiner, Abdel Awad Labidi of Algeria and Kamanda wa Kamanda (currently Zaire Foreign Minister but in those days OAU Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Affairs). There was general applause when Gardiner, who followed the proceedings throughout, stepped up to receive a special citation pre-

sented by the Ethiopian leader (as well as a warm handshake). The widow of the First Executive Secretary, the Sudanese Mekki Abbas, who died four years ago, also received a citation on behalf of her late husband.

## OAU prospects

The Africa Hall of the ECA complex has the aura of history about it. Visually, the staircase leading up to the great stained-glass window, and the painted mural near the central auditorium showing the various heads of state who signed the original charter of the Organisation of African Unity (there is still a blank spot for Togo) could have a strangely uplifting effect on those who frequent the premises. Above all the fact that this is the room where the OAU was set up and its charter signed by the founding fathers, twenty years ago this month, has its own potent magic. It is this presence of the past that it is perhaps, hoped will work its chemistry on the heads of state who are due to assemble here "without preconditions" on June 6 for what will be arguably the most critical summit in the whole history of the organisation. In the background during all the ECA celebrations there have been speculative discussions as to how the summit will turn out, quite apart from the official contacts with heads of state and delegations. Most people I discussed the question with were quite circumspect as to the kind of formula which could be worked out on the Sahara question, in view of the "no preconditions" approach of the 12 nation contact group, and the apparent reluctance of President Julius Nyerere to pursue his earlier apparently successful diplomacy with the Saharans to voluntarily abstain from the summit. Even so current SADR announcements that they have been invited and will attend somehow do not seem to ruffle the general inclination here to be cautiously hopeful about the summit. It may be that the current rapprochement between Algeria and Morocco, and the unusual visit of Colonel Gaddafi to Nigeria are seen as straws in the wind. It is surely not just the slightly heady altitude of Addis Ababa, although this has on occasion had political effects in the past.

Assuming the summit does meet, one of its main duties will be to elect a Secretary-General for the next four years. It is thought that the present incumbent Edem Kodjo is not going to stand. The whole

controversy with which he has been surrounded has, it seems, made him impatient to surrender his burden. After his rather apocalyptic speech to the Silver Jubilee one delegate said to him admiringly "you are Africa's bad conscience", and those in Addis that still wonder if he might not be in the running after all, are likely to be disappointed. His state of mind does not appear to be that of a candidate. Who, then, are now in the running? Both the Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone and Mali (Abdulai Conteh and Alioune Blondin Beye) are still there, with the sponsorship

of their governments, and there is now a Gabonese candidate, Paul Okumba Okwats wegue for whom President Bongo is engaging in active lobbying in different countries. (See this column, issue of March 14, 1983). The name of Botswana Foreign Minister Archie Mogwe still crops up, and it does appear both that he would be willing to be drafted and his President would let him go. If so he would become the front runner, although there are new rumours that Tanzania's Foreign Minister Salim Salim, who denied flatly last year that he was interested, may after all be entering the race.

CSO: 3400/1439

## BRIEFS

GOJJAM MAPPED--Bahr Dar (ENA)--Cartographic work for the population and housing census in Gojjam region is nearing completion, according to Comrade Mitik Beyene, Manager of the Statistical Office of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council. Speaking recently to representatives of mass organizations and government departments of the region at the auditorium of the regional teachers' institute, Comrade Mitik said that the census programme was being carried out at national level. Such cartographic work has already been completed in Shoa, Wollega, Illubabor, Kaffa, Gamo Goffa, Sidamo, Bale and Arssi regions, said Comrade Mitik adding that it was nearing completion in Gojjam and Hararghe regions. Comrade Mitik further underlined the significance of census in promoting control systems, in charting out development programmes and in constructing the socialist economy. He pointed out that the Statistic Department has been registering satisfactory results so far in accordance with the directives of the Revolutionary Government. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 1 May 83 p 5]

DELEGATION TO BULGARIA--A 15-member delegation from Regional Production Campaign and Planning Departments and from Agricultural Trade, Industry and Social Affairs Sectors left for Sofia Sunday to obtain a two-week practical experience in socialist construction in the Bulgarian People's Republic. The delegation members led by Comrade Animut Kinde, Chief Administrator of Illubabor region, will gather experiences on strategies, operational methods and execution of economic construction tasks accumulated by the Bulgarian People's Republic in the past. Prior to the delegation's departure, Comrade Animut said that the delegation members had grouped themselves under different economic sectors and would hold talks with relevant officials in such fields as agriculture, social affairs, trade and industry. The delegation, which comprises two Regional Chief Administrators and one First Deputy Administrator, was seen off by Comrade Yemane Araya, Head of the Manpower Organization Department in the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council (NRDC-CPSC), other officials of the NRDC-CPSC and Comrade George Petrov Kassov, Ambassador of Bulgarian People's Republic in Socialist Ethiopia. (ENA) [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 26 Apr 83 p 3]

USSR JOURNALISTS' AGREEMENT--A two year comprehensive agreement aimed at renewing previous agreements was signed here yesterday between the

Ethiopian Journalists' Association (EJA) and the Journalists' Union of the USSR. The agreement provides for the further strengthening of relations between the two associations and the training of Ethiopian journalists in the USSR as well as for the technical assistance offered by the Journalists' Union of the USSR to its Ethiopian counterpart. The agreement was signed at a ceremony held at the EJA office by Comrade Alexander P. Kharlamov, board secretary of the Journalists' Union of the USSR, Editor-in-Chief of the VILLAGE LIFE, journal of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and member of the Party's Control Commission, and by Comrade Imru Worku, acting chairman of the EJA. Comrade Kharlamov said on the occasion that the two associations would consolidate their solidarity in their endeavour for world peace and equality inspired by their conviction to struggle for common progress and prosperity of all mankind. He also emphasised that both associations have immensely contributed towards strengthening socialism since they had established relations. Comrade Imru on his part noted that the agreement that they had just signed will enable both associations to work together for peace and democracy. The Ethiopian Journalists' Association, Comrade Imru emphasised, will do everything in its power to translate the agreement into deeds. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 29 Apr 83 p 5]

AFGHAN REVOLUTION SUPPORTED--The Ethiopian Peace and Solidarity Friendship Committee (EPSFC) reminded all imperialist and reactionary stooges to keep their hands off Afghanistan. In a press release issued yesterday in connection with the International Day of Solidarity and the Afghan Revolution, the committee urged all progressive and democratic forces to intensify the campaign of support and solidarity with the Saur (April) Revolution of Afghanistan. Afghanistan is now fighting imperialism and counter-revolutionary groups, who are engaged in acts of sabotage and destruction to undo the gains of the revolution, the press release added. The statement said that US imperialism in particular has teamed up with criminals and sworn enemies of the people to subvert the Afghan Revolution which rose five years ago to undermine the vital interests of internal oppressors and imperialism. The press statement further pointed out that the Revolutionary Government of Afghanistan headed by the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) has put forward various construction proposals to solve all outstanding problems with neighbouring countries in a peaceful way and that this correct stand and peaceful overtures of the revolutionary government has won international support and solidarity. The week from the 21st to the 27th of April has been declared by the World Peace Council as an International Week of Solidarity with the Saur (April) Revolution of Afghanistan. (ENA) [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 27 Apr 83 p 5]

GDR FARMERS' AGREEMENT--All Ethiopia Peasants' Association (AEPA) and the German Democratic Republic Farmers' Association (VGB) yesterday signed a two-year joint co-operation agreement. Comrade Abdella Sonessa, Chairman of AEPA and Comrade Hubertus Nowak Vice-chairman of the National Executive Committee of the GDR Farmers' Association initialled the documents on behalf of their respective associations. Speaking on the occasion, Comrade Abdella said that the agreement reached earlier between the two associations had borne fruit and expressed confidence that the present one would also



help foster closer relations. Comrade Abdella emphasized that the accord would further intensify the efforts of the two associations to promote peace and solidarity. The AEPA Chairman also spoke of the present endeavour of Ethiopian peasants to increase agricultural productivity and thereby become self-sufficient. He appreciated the assistance of socialist countries towards this economic sector. Comrade Abdella pledged that every effort will be made on the AEPA side to effectively implement the co-operation agreement. On his part, Comrade Nowak expressed satisfaction on the result of the first joint agreement and noted that the second agreement will further strengthen relations between their associations. Comrade Nowak also noted his impression on the progress attained by Ethiopian peasants and pledged that all necessary steps will be taken by GDR Farmers' Association to implement, the second joint agreement. Present at the signing ceremony were Comrade Ambassador Guenter Mauersberger of the GDR to Socialist Ethiopia and AEPA officials. During his visit to Bale and Arssi regions, Comrade Nowak had visited co-operatives, the Peasants' Training Institute of Ardaita and the Agrafta Multi-purpose Peasants' Training Institute. He had also met peasants' association officials for discussion on subjects of mutual interest. (ENA) [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 27 Apr 83 p 5]

CSO: 3400/1433

OBSERVERS REPORTEDLY CONSIDER BONGO FIRMLY IN CONTROL

Dakar AFRICA in French No 150, Apr 83 pp 23-26

[Article by Jean-Pierre Challard: "The Country of the Chameleon"]

[Excerpts] The increasingly persistent rumors that have been circulating in Libreville for the last 3 months, both at the diplomatic cocktail parties and among the low life in Matiti, have finally materialized like a menacing storm that has brooded in the sky for too long.

For weeks, all the ministries had gone into a phase of lethargy and expectation: everyday matters have been handled without conviction, while the most fundamental decisions waited cautiously, sometimes to the greater fury of foreign visitors.

The commentaries were going at a good clip about the storm that was to carry off the biggest swell-heads, and everyone was imagining as he liked about the new ministerial picture, according to his indisputable parameters or his personal interests. The most absurd hypotheses circulated about the removal of some and the promotion of others, but unfortunately, most of the diagnoses proved entirely chimerical.

But under the ministers' mask of apparent impassivity there was a formidable seething by the holders of portfolios to preserve their immediate futures. The national daily L'UNION, under the caustic pen of the indescribable Makaya, ridiculed the uneasy "magnificos" who had headed back to their villages, not to renew themselves at the sources of their home country or families but rather to unearth the most obsolete ritualistic practices.

Hunting for the chameleon, an animal said to bring good luck, was in full swing: killed, dried and reduced to a powder that the adept swallowed without aversion, it was supposed to give unequalled invincibility and invulnerability. But it must be believed that the recipe has not been successful for everyone, unless those with bad luck or those replaced did not know the magic formula.

#### Redynamizing the Party

The steamroller of political change really got rolling on Friday 25 February 1983, when the secretary general and founder of the Gabonese Democratic Party

(PDG), El Hadj Omar Bongo, called the political bureau together at the presidential palace. A watchword emerged from this convocation: it was necessary to "redynamize the party," which could give rise to the most diverse interpretations.

The meeting of the Third Extraordinary Congress of the party, with great pomp on Wednesday 2 March, was to throw a little more light on the Gabonese leaders' objectives. With President Omar Bongo's opening address, an axiom was set out: multipartyism will never do. That is an alternative on which the Gabonese chief of state will never give in.

The trial of the Movement for National Recovery (MORENA), which had the single-party seed in it, crystallized in Omar Bongo an already latent aversion to a form of democracy which, in most of the developing countries, has degenerated into fratricidal, tribal, clannish, ethnic struggles. As a single party, the PDG intended to remain so, no matter what the challenges and resistance to it.

The euphoria of independence that engendered this ephemeral multipartyism did not withstand the first severe shock, and the "imported ideologies" that the Gabonese president regularly lampoons were quashed rapidly among the political classes--until the appearance of MORENA.

As a rally of a national character, the secretary general-founder asserts, the PDG cannot be "synonymous with an ethnic group or a tribe." In this domain, the government officials' decisions scrupulously respect the regional equilibrium, even if, in the semipublic companies that stash away big revenues, certain regions are "more equal than the others," it is murmured in the corridors.

In the mind of the PDG's founder, this single party is a crucible in which all opinions, all tendencies, can be represented, provided that they do not express themselves by systematic criticisms, automatic denigration. "Constructive criticism" is broadly accepted, though.

A Western diplomat who had observed the closing ceremony of the extraordinary congress, at the Palace of Conferences on Thursday 3 March, came home exhausted after the marathon motions in which all the official groups and organisms followed one another to proclaim their "unswerving devotion" to the presidential policy.

#### A Long Presidency

In this labyrinth of speeches and applause, punctuated by the sonorous couplets of the pep groups and of the national anthem, the foreign observer could only conclude, to the colleague he was talking with, that "nothing new" had happened.

In fact, the document sanctioning the congress had not been distributed to the public, and the background had totally escaped this unfortunate ambassador, wriggling on his chair for 3 hours like his colleagues, under the salvos of speeches inflamed and colorful despite their terminological dryness. For in this "temple of our democracy," as the Gabonese chief of state put it, the party's official bodies passed 11 amendments of the constitution, of capital importance for the country's future.

The tone is set with the first article: henceforth, the party "establishes the secretary general and founder of the Democratic Party as the candidate for the presidency of the republic." In view of the fact that there is only one person who has the benefit of this original attribute, it is obvious that Omar Bongo will again be the single candidate in the next elections for the supreme magistracy.

The strengthening of power at the final level is clearly in favor of the current chief of state, and no rival, according to this new article, will be able to enter the lists against him. His mandate would have to cease under two conditions only: Omar Bongo's voluntary withdrawal or his death; but at age 48, and with perfect health, the Gabonese president still has a long future ahead of him.

### A Spectacular Change of Course

This gathering of powers to the person of Omar Bongo is all the firmer in that the party, of which he is the indisputable leader, "defines the general orientation of national policy, directs the political action over the whole of the territory and controls the action of the executive power through the intermediary of its secretary general...."

This revision of powers is considered a spectacular change of course vis-a-vis the decentralization of competencies that characterized the preceding period, 1980-1981, during which the president of the republic had voluntarily given up his prerogatives as head of government in favor of Prime Minister Leon Mebiame, unburdening himself, in so doing, of three or four key portfolios that he usually kept: Defense, Information, Posts and Telecommunications.

As a former minister explains: "In sum, the chief of state is recovering by way of the party what he had previously ceded in executive power." Is this to say that this new waxing of fire constitutes a disavowal of the prime minister's action? Not exactly, it is said in the political circles.

There was a rumor that Mr Leon Mebiame had wanted, 2 or 3 years ago, to withdraw from political life to devote himself solely to his private activities; such an explanation would make the recent change a sound one. But nothing, absolutely no indication, permits one to assert that Mr Mebiame wants to give up his post. In any case, the imperatives of geopolitics make Leon Mebiame too important a central figure for President Omar Bongo to think seriously of separating from him. To be sure, there are at least two others who are "prime minister material" and could succeed him; but everyone agrees that Mr Mebiame remains an essential man on the Gabonese political chessboard.

What, then, does this new taking in hand of the levers of executive power mean? What is undeniable is that the chief of state is arranging the possibility of his intervening more frequently in the course of everyday affairs and of making undisputed decisions (as he has always done, for that matter), supported by the entire apparatus of the single party: the political bureau, the central committee, the annual congress.

At the risk of stating a truism, it should be kept in mind that power in the developing countries remains strictly personalized and that a regime often rests on a single man, the chief, in the etymological sense of the term, whether the regime is a liberal or socialist one.

The bolstering of the party's powers is continued in Article 24 of its constitution, which authorizes, among the other functions of the central committee, a right of oversight in areas as vast and diversified as protection of human rights and of the citizen, the functioning of the public services and establishments, the output of public employees and reform of the economy and the finances.

#### Elbowroom

In the course of his further consultations, President Omar Bongo signified to the political commissioners especially that their role as monitors, inspectors, regulators of administrative life should be understood in a pragmatic and dynamic manner.

The central committee can make binding rulings, either by way of ordinances or by way of resolutions or recommendations. One wonders whether the initiative is thus passing into the camp of the party what will effectively remain in the regular executive power, namely the government [as published].

But the central committee does not meet every day, and the political commissioners, as the chief of state has recognized, run up against some primary material difficulties that impede their action. In any case, the ministers, jealous of their prerogatives, have never willingly accepted the idea that the commissioners attached to their sectors should come rummaging in their dossiers--all the less so in that no law obliges them to do so.

The most striking fact about this last extraordinary congress, apart from the primacy of the secretary general-founder, is the emergence of the minister Leon Auge, of whom it had been asserted a bit prematurely that he was going back into the ranks. On the contrary, his exit from the government gives him elbowroom vis-a-vis Prime Minister Leon Mebiame, and his role as the party's "locomotive" has been considerably strengthened.

Taking over from Jean-Stanislas Migolet, who has been moved to an honorific post as high representative of the president of the republic, Leon Auge has become permanent general delegate of the secretary general-founder, and activator of the party's national permanent staff--terminology that is doubtlessly vague to everyday people but that in reality covers many aspects.

As the main official of the party's permanent staff, Leon Auge is the regime's principal ideologue, a competent jurist and well-versed in all juridical-administrative tricks.

Well aware of the disaffection of Gabonese public opinion, especially among the young, with ideological questions, Leon Auge wants to set up an Information division, as the "nerve-center of any political, economic or social organization,"

as he himself defines it. There is a purposeful confusion between "information" and "propaganda" in a country in which, as is the case with other African countries, the shaping of domestic public opinion is of prime importance in the face of the foreign press that enters freely, and in profusion.

#### Wave of Reform

As chairman of the board of directors of SONAPRESSE [National Press Co], the company that publishes the daily L'UNION, Leon Auge thus neutralizes the official written press--if one excepts the JOURNAL OFFICIEL, which has no effect on public opinion. The party's control over information is total when one realizes that the administrative secretary of the PDG, Zacharie Myboto, holds the Information (and Posts and Telecommunications) portfolio and that he presides daily over the destinies of the radio and television (RTG)--radio-television network II being a direct emanation from the presidency of the republic.

At the same time, the University Center for Political Sciences and Development (CUSPOD), the former party-cadres school that has grown fat, remains within the ambit of Permanent General Delegate Leon Auge, who, a decidedly very active person, has also contributed to the creation of an Institute of Strategic Studies in Libreville--a personal revenge against the university people who at one time disputed his right to education in their world imbued with intellectual superiority.

The watchword for this great upheaval has been: the party must be redynamized. But why such a wave of reform when the single party and the presidential regime absolutely did not appear threatened in their existence? The fact is that the roots of this desire for change must be sought in the troubles that preceded the trial of the MORENA people, in the sclerosis of the barons who emerged from independence, in the rise of the Gabonese youth, integration of whom into administrative life runs up against resistance and tenacious privilege.

The groundswell that was to metamorphose the ruling political elite rose on Saturday 5 March, when some were thinking at least of a respite for the celebrations of 12 March, marking the creation of the PDG. Alas! The storm swept away several hopes in one camp as in the other; Prime Minister Leon Mebiame succeeded himself, on Friday 4 March, thereby simultaneously making the government a lapsed one.

In reality, the ministerial shuffle of Saturday 5 March did not metamorphose the structure of the government, in which a third vice prime minister had arrived. The accession to this post of Emile Kassa Mapsi, who went from Gabon's embassy in Brussels to the post of director of Air Gabon to the presidency of the Economic and Social Council, simply reestablishes the balance after the removal of Edouard-Alexis M'Bouy Boutzit, a native of Mouila and thus from the same region (Mr Kassa being from Ndende).

The manifest setback for Mr M'Bouy Boutzit, previously a minister of state, who falls back to be president of the Chamber of Commerce, is probably linked to the features in LE CANARD ENCHAINE, a Paris publication. A first setback from the Ministry of Mines and Petroleum to that of Justice had been the sign announcing this exit from the government.

There have been other changes and removals, related far more to the ups and downs of the conduct of affairs than to a desire for reform. In the chief of state's various speeches one finds the outline of the major reasons for these departures or the stagnation: infringement of the principle of solidarity, even in privileges; errors of political maneuvering; weakness of performance; absence of popular support in the region of origin; notorious private life--in short, the normal hazards of any political career.

The arrival of Mr Kassa Mapsi has produced another effect--i.e., the withdrawal of his own sister, Mme Antoinette Oliveira, former minister of social affairs and feminine promotion, promoted to a post of high-level state adviser. One woman leaves, and another arrives: Mme Rose Rogombe, jurist, comes to take the pulse of Gabonese political life while the spokesman for the presidency, Jean Ovono Essono, wins a portfolio as secretary of state, in the place of Isaac Nguema, secretary general of the government, a native of Bitam, like him, and leaving.

Few cadres from Ogooue-Ivindo are available, which facilitated entry into the inner circle by Raphael Mouapa Walla, a direct relation of the political commissioner Muhammad Mouapa Beotsa. The promotion of the prime minister's brother, Mathieu Nguema, should be noted also; he takes over the Merchant Marine portfolio, previously held by Leon Mebiame, which disturbs no one.

The element that should be taken especially into account is the appointment of General Georges Nkomah, former boss of the National Gendarmerie, who goes from the civilian area, where he chaired the board of directors of the Office of Ports and Roadsteads of Gabon (OPRAG), to the portfolio of minister of state for justice, guardian of the seals.

The insistent references in the president's speeches to the "manipulation" of the security forces by the putschists of 1964 had to lead to two major measures. Henceforth, the commanders-in-chief of these units become ex-officio members of the party's central committee--they are, at this time, General Daniel Ba Oumar (land and naval forces, governor of the capital), General Andre Nzong (gendarmerie) and General Jean-Boniface Assele (police).

#### A Star-Spangled Minister

An unexpected politicization of the forces of order, one that adroitly neutralizes their action, with their chiefs taking an oath of allegiance to the secretary general-founder of the party, in addition to their traditional oath to the chief of state, the supreme commander of the armed forces. The second measure is, of course, the naming of a brother-in-arms to Justice, for an endemic conflict pits the security forces against the magistrates, whom they consider too yielding, not to say lax. Some joint seminars have attempted to elicit a line of conduct that could achieve their mutual agreement in the face of the criminal population.

At the present, the naming of a star-spangled minister to the head of Justice will give more vigor--at least in the eyes of the security forces--to their action against large-scale banditry, the political opposition, clandestine emigration, which have developed alarmingly in Gabon since 1978.

But if one examines the new government list carefully, one perceives that the ground swell has not carried off anyone very much, even though the concern for regional balance has been scrupulously respected. Aware of the disappointment of many young Gabonese cadres, the president has promised that other changes could take place sooner than expected.

In fact, the presidential promise has actually been kept through the intermediary of the party, and not, as was expected, through ministerial upheaval. Two weeks after the setting-up of the government, on Saturday 17 March, a series of presidential decrees was to put into full effect the watchword "redynamizing the party."

Detouring around the obstacle of a government too solidly anchored in position, the chief of state has preferred to give to the party's organs and the permanent general delegate the human resources for a new policy. Many of these newly promoted persons have come out of the Gabonese or foreign universities, including a few people from the CUSPOD, who should act as shock troops within the administrative apparatus of the state.

In what manner is the government/party duality going to coexist? Will there be a burgeoning rivalry between the two Leons (Mebiame and Auge), as a high-level civil servant in Libreville maliciously foretells? A political version of "Kramer vs Kramer" that would in any case take place "en famille." as it is customary to wash one's dirty linen in Gabon?

Divide-and-conquer is not a political principle unknown to President Omar Bongo, as he has often proved in the past. In any case, he is keeping a firm grip on the tiller, as the observers of Gabonese life recognize, despite the cutting remarks of the impatient young people, the phased-out old ones and the clandestine modernists.

For his part, the chameleon coveted and hunted down during the period of the rumors and the buzzing has returned to his cool and damp den, enjoying well-deserved rest and peace--a strange destiny, that of this chromatic reptile whose peaceful existence is intimately linked to the career of "homo politicus gabonensis."

11267  
CSO: 3419/904



## ARTICLE WEIGHS ROLE OF CHIEFS IN NATION

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3430, 9 May 83 pp 1118-1120

[Article by R. K. B. Kyerematen]

[Text]

A REVOLUTION is a process which seeks to bring about rapid social, economic and political change and results in a restructuring of the relationship between classes. Any institution posing a threat to such restructuring is likely to be dismantled.

It was the thought of many at the beginning of the December 31 revolution that chieftaincy was going to be abolished. Such a thought probably arose out of the fact that chiefs enjoyed great importance in the "old system". However, the remarks of Flt.-Lt. J. J. Rawlings to the National House of Chiefs, indicate that his government has no such intention. In the address he said: "Chieftaincy is a very old institution in this country. The chief is the embodiment of his people. The chief stands as a transmission belt between the government and his people. He is the natural arbiter and mediator between the state and his people . . . It is important that he should play this role very well. We expect from the chief support not sycophancy," the PNDC Chairman added.

Chieftaincy, is an abiding and all-pervasive indigenous institution and its importance in the rich culture of Ghana cannot be over-emphasised. Chiefs in the past were regarded as political leaders as well as law-makers. They were looked upon as spiritual giants in their communities, acting as intermediaries between their royal ancestors and the tribe. It was also incumbent upon chiefs to inspire creativity in music, dance, history, poetry, carving and weaving. This, they did, by appointing to their courts the best in these fields.

The chief, being the custodian of the people's land, was to ensure fair distribu-

tion of available land among the various families in his community. He was the economic planner and had to ensure that the needy in his community were catered for. In performing all these functions the chief was the focus of the unity of the tribe.

With the rise of colonialism and nationalism and its attendant economic, social and political consequences some of these functions have been taken away from the chiefs. Among the reasons for the remarkable survival of this institution is the fact that chieftaincy has a territorial base. Every stool or skin has some property and anyone, no matter how long absent from the village, can go back and ask for a piece of land, however small, to cultivate. Thus people inherently have an abiding collective responsibility to protect this institution which looks after their property.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of chieftaincy is its democratic nature. Pitched against "modern" democracies, the democratic nature of chieftaincy has not been found wanting. Though the chief is not elected by popular vote, he has to govern in accordance with the popular will for the people retain the right to destool him at anytime. Though appointed for life, the chief's role is not an autocracy but a consultative system of government. He has to consult his councils on all decisions affecting the society. Members of the numerous councils which advise the chief are selected from most of the families in the community. It is probably the representation of most families on such councils which accounts for the respect of the decisions of the chief. Elders on these councils are specially chosen not because

of their wealth but maturity. Thus it is possible to have both the rich and poor on the same council. Elders who are not in such councils are not left out. In practice, they are allowed at meetings and to contribute by exclaiming their approval or disapproval on certain council decisions. On very controversial issues, hundreds of citizens turn up to express their views.

The democratic nature of chieftaincy is to be seen not only in the constitutional rights of the chief and council members handed down from generation to generation but in the chief's ability to cater for the economic needs of all and sundry, which if he failed to provide, could constitute an influential motive for the demand of his destoolment.

Whatever promise such an institution held, long periods of European contact virtually made it impossible for our political philosophers to build up a modern system of government based upon this traditional institution. The kind of respect that people used to have for their chiefs is no more. Chiefs now have very little executive, legal, or political power. Special victims of this loss of power are the paramount chiefs in the urban areas. Whatever influence chieftaincy might have lost especially in the urban areas, the institution continues to enjoy a lot of following in the rural areas.

It is against this time-tested institution that the People's Defence Committee (PDCs) established by the December 31 revolution are to pitch their strength. The PDCs are growing organs of power and authority and are supposed to be the bedrock on which the PNDC's restructuring programme lies. Recognising the possibility of confrontations between these two sources of authorities, chiefs and PDC executives have been advised on several occasions by the Secretary for PDCs to co-exist peacefully and to work for the betterment of their communities.

The mobilisation of people at grassroot level is a necessary condition for the success of any restructuring programme. People can be mobilised either through force, enticement or respect for the body calling for the mobilisation exercise. The first tool, from experience, cannot work. The second, possibly the best, tool for any

mobilisation exercise, is difficult to use since at present, the economy is in such a shambles that it cannot provide the necessary resources to entice people. We are left with no option but to use the third tool. It is here our chiefs can play a meaningful role. The fact that chieftaincy continues to enjoy a large following even in our present condition is not in doubt.

The success of the Green Revolution recently launched will depend largely on the chiefs in the major food-growing areas sitting down with the local PDC executives and mapping out strategies for the effective mobilisation of the rural dwellers for increased agricultural production. To solve the problem of labour for example, the chief can advise his people to revert to the old system of families coming together and helping on each other's farm.

Chiefs in the rural areas are in a better position than the PDCs to finance the mobilisation exercise in the initial stages since up till now I do not know of any known source of revenue for the PDCs. Failure on the part of chiefs to directly address themselves to the needs of their communities as their forefathers did, can spark off revolts against them, leading to the eventual collapse of this institution.

The government, on its part, after such mobilisation exercises should do everything possible to supply the rural dwellers with some of their basic demands, chief amongst them kerosene, soap and simple agricultural inputs. The government should be bold to send the growing political cadres to the rural areas to help in the mobilisation exercise at the grassroot level instead of mobilising industrial workers in regional capitals who do not have the raw materials to work with.

Whatever one might think of the role that chiefs can play to contribute to the success of the revolution, one cannot help however, having the impression that some continue to enjoy a lot of respect and it is around these villages which feed the country, that the government should concentrate very much. With a little bit of planning, chieftaincy, an abiding and all-pervasive indigenous institution in Ghana, can be turned into a political asset instead of a cherished liability.

'PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC' URGES NO BOYCOTT OF OAU SUMMIT

AB241100 Accra Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 24 May 83

[From the press review]

[Text] Writing under the heading "Africa Must United," the PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC recalls that since its independence in 1975, Mozambique has not enjoyed peace, especially on its borders with apartheid South Africa.

It says for some time now the Mozambique National Resistance, MNR, backed openly by South Africa and her supporters, has continuously raided parts of the country. Though the country's enemies wanted to use Mozambique-Cuban relations to disrupt the political advancement of the population, this did not succeed. South Africa has not only hated the progressive efforts of the people of Mozambique, it has even detested the presence of African liberation movements in Maputo.

The GRAPHIC points out that it is against this background that the air raids were made last week. For apartheid South Africa does not only want to instill fear among the people in these times, it also wants to brandish its weapon of terrorism which it has shone on all progressive nations sharing borders with it.

The GRAPHIC condemns these attacks on the people of Mozambique and calls all African countries to seriously consider the danger that the racist regime poses to the continent at the forthcoming OAU summit in Addis Ababa. It is the wish of the paper that African leaders do not take lightly the current orchestrated attempts to sabotage the summit. The paper advises African leaders that boycott of summits cannot save this continent since they only help to strengthen the hands of the enemies of Africa, who are represented very clearly in the racist apartheid system of South Africa. It is only unity of purpose that can save the proud people of this continent.

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# WORLD BANK TACTICS SEEN TEACHING SECONDARY TEACHERS 'HARSH LESSON'

London WEST AFRICA in English 2 May 83 p 1082

[Article by Mark Doyle: "Students of Structural Adjustment"]

[Text]

The Ivory Coast's secondary school teachers have been given a harsh economic lesson in the "structural adjustment" tactics of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and their own Government in Abidjan.

Following a Government decision to end free housing rights — part of overall cuts in public expenditure — the teachers went on strike. They have had their salaries and union suspended and been ordered out of their homes.

President Houphouët-Boigny has accused the strikers of being politically motivated. The economic aspects of the action are more significant. State expenditure on education in 1981 accounted for 46 per cent of the Current Budget. And so education was an inevitable candidate for cuts in a country where *la conjoncture* (the local tag for poor export crop prices), has highlighted serious structural weaknesses in the economy.

Those structural problems — manifested as chronic indebtedness and persistent balance of payments deficit — have exacerbated and even surpassed the inauspicious effects of *la conjoncture*.

Housing in the Ivory Coast is a sensitive subject. It is basically impossible on a teacher's salary to live comfortably in the big towns and cities. In this sense the teachers' strike had an economic rationale. Similarly, in February 1982, students struck not for political reasons but in

protest at their lack of employment prospects and the continuing dominance of non-Ivorians (mainly French and Lebanese nationals) in the highest paid education sector jobs.

The 1983 Budget does not hold-out much hope of easing these social strains. Current spending (the *budget général de fonctionnement*) is to be cut by about 7 per cent in real terms. The capital account (the *budget spécial d'investissement*) has been slashed by over a quarter in money terms alone. (Inflation will be 8-10 per cent this year.)

The 1981-85 Plan forecasts 5.7 per cent average real annual growth. Given that growth was negative in 1981 and less than 2 per cent in 1982, that 5 per cent average looks unrealistic. Real GDP increased by almost 7 per cent per annum in the seventies, given rise to high expectations.

The 1983 Budget was prepared in consultation with the World Bank and the IMF. In 1981, a three-year "stabilisation programme" was agreed with the Fund. In exchange, the government promised to cut new spending, limit domestic credit expansion and reduce the public sector deficit. A 484.5m SDR Extended Fund Facility followed.

The World Bank has insisted upon similar measures in return for two "structural adjustment" loans. The first, for \$150m., was approved in December 1981. Before the loan was made the Government told the Bank, in a

letter of intent, that it intended to revamp the educational system to reduce the unsustainable growth in costs". The Bank's plan agreed that reform was needed in the education sector.

The Bank also criticised the structure of the education system; too much investment was made in grand higher education institutes, sometimes training students in inappropriate disciplines. Scholarships, particularly to overseas universities, were also to be reduced.

A second World Bank loan, about to be approved, is for \$300m. According to first reports the Government will be asked to encourage more export crop production (a common condition) and invest in low-cost housing, a more novel idea.

Other conditions from both the Fund and the Bank have been to cut food subsidies and reduce cheap loans to public transport enterprises. Domestic political pressure will probably preclude another popular Fund/Bank condition; the insertion of more foreign "experts" in Abidjan ministries.

The Ivory Coast is a long way from experiencing "IMF riots" of the type which took place in Casablanca in 1980 when food subsidies were cut. But further and more severe measures, along the lines of ejecting people from their homes, can be expected if the Ivory Coast is to be satisfactorily "adjusted" in the traditional IMF/World Bank manner.

EDITORIAL HITS UGANDAN CLAIMS OF SUPPORT FOR GUERRILLAS

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 6 May 83 p 6

[Editorial: "Ugandan Allegations"]

[Text] When nations are in turmoil or facing turbulent times there is always a tendency for them to look outside their borders for the causes of their strife. We would like to think that this was the case with our neighbour Uganda when writing in the weekly magazine, THE SUN, a director general in the ministry of information accused Kenya along with other countries of supporting the guerrilla groups that have been fighting against the government of that country.

We say accusations are irresponsible. Kenya has stated time and again its adherence to the OAU charter and the principles of good neighbourliness which stress non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Our president who is current chairman of the OAU and a man of integrity, has upheld the charter of that organisation and its principles. He would therefore be the last man to allow Kenya to violate those principles.

A few months ago, there were similar charges against this country and our president himself categorically stated that Kenya had no hand in the Uganda problems. That should have been taken seriously by our neighbour. For quite sometime now Uganda has faced upheavals but Kenya has done everything possible to assist by facilitating transit of essential goods and by offering refuge to those who felt their lives were threatened by whatever regime was in power. This was done as a humanitarian act which should be appreciated and not confused for a sign of hostility towards our neighbour.

CSO: 3400/1438

## ISRAELI DANCERS TRY TO MAKE POLITICAL CAPITAL FROM VISIT

Nairobi THE WEEKLY REVIEW in English 6 May 83 p 11

[Text]

**THOUGH** Kenya and Israel have no diplomatic relations, the two countries have kept other relations going ever since Kenya broke off diplomatic ties in 1974 following the 1973 Arab-Israeli war and the oil embargo by Arab nations against countries which were doing business with Israel at the time. Trade links with Israel have continued. One of Israel's major construction companies, Solel Boneh, is still building high-rise buildings in the capital city of Nairobi. But the Kenya government has never been comfortable with this kind of arrangement. From time to time it has been caught in an awkward situation, as it appears to be in at present with the visiting Israeli dancing group Bat Dor which, according to the group's advance publicity notice, is making its first appearance in Africa. The group's brochure may have been the cause of the trouble, for it says: "This is the first time since the severing of diplomatic relations with African states that an Israeli dance company has been invited to perform in the heart of the Dark Continent." Even forgetting the stupid reference to the "Dark Continent", there was the obvious political advantage which the Israelis were trying to get out of the visit of the dance group. A number of questions naturally arise out of the visit. Who invited the dance group? No one would say.

The Kenya government itself appears to have been confused by the issue of the dance group. A spokesman for the ministry of foreign affairs told The Kanu-owned *Kenya Times* that the ministry was not aware of how the group got to be licenced to perform in Kenya. According to the foreign affairs ministry

spokesman the government is still committed to the decision of the OAU regarding "diplomatic and other links" with Israel. The fact of the matter, of course, was that the group had already been licenced by the Nairobi provincial office to start their performances on May 7. Currently, the group is making a similar tour of Zaire with which Israel has recently re-established diplomatic relations. It appears to be one of those cases where the right hand in the Kenya government does not know what the left hand is doing.

But the implications of the visit, if political, could have far-reaching effects. The Israelis are obviously on a diplomatic offensive to regain ties in Africa. Zaire was the first victory of that offensive. Kenya would appear to be the next target. With the President Daniel arap Moi about to relinquish his chairmanship of the Organisation of African Unity, Israel must feel that it stands a better chance to induce Kenya into resuming diplomatic relations than at any time in the past when OAU considerations stood in the way of such a resumption. The current economic slump in Kenya may also appear to the Israelis to be auspicious. Kenya has been looking for aid abroad for stabilising her economy, especially since the August 1 abortive coup of last year. Those who have responded to her SOSs have been mainly western nations - friends of Israel. The Arab nations have not been conspicuous among those who have come forth with generous aid since August last year. Israel, though herself incapable of giving any meaningful financial aid to Kenya (or any other nation for that matter) must be

eager to capitalise on this Kenyan goodwill towards western nations. And there are enough people of Jewish descent resident in Kenya and having strong business connections with powerful individuals in the Kenyan political and civil service system who would like to see Kenya-Israeli diplomatic relations restored.

Israel will, however, have to try a little harder and more subtly than she has done with the Bat Dor dance group. Her propaganda approach in this case is as heavy-handed as the Arabs' used to be in matters of relations with Africa. The publicity brochure for the dance group's visit has offended a number of circles. The *Daily Nation* this week took great exception to the brochure's reference to Africa as the "Dark Continent." Said the paper in an editorial on Wednesday: "We all know that the term Dark Con-

tinents was coined by colonialists who thought Africans were half-developed human beings, or sub-human. The same attitude is still being used by white supremacists in South Africa to deny the black majority equal political and economic rights. How then can a well-meaning guest of Africa pick up the term from history's dustbin and use it?"

The reference to South Africa is one of the sore points in relations between Israel and black African states. Israel has very close links with the Pretoria regime. Israel has on a number of occasions been accused of assisting Pretoria in the development of nuclear weapons. The two countries now have strong trading ties. At the United Nations they vote in tandem on almost all issues. These ties are likely to make resumption of diplomatic relations between Israel and black African states rather difficult. ■

CSO: 3400/1438

## MOI HITS OUT AT LEADERS' DISUNITY

Nairobi THE WEEKLY REVIEW in English 6 May 83 pp 4, 5

[Text] **THE** slanging matches between politicians, mainly government ministers and assistant ministers, was beginning to get out of hand when President Daniel arap Moi stepped in on Labour Day and ordered his ministers to stop washing their dirty linen in public. "My ministers should stop feeding the public with things which are unfit for public consumption," the president told a Labour Day rally at Uhuru Park in Nairobi last week. "The ministers should regard themselves as elders of wisdom, although some of them are young. They are the leaders of this country and should show good example." Whether that will put an end to the squabbling which has been going on in the country's political circles remains to be seen. In the past, following such directives by the president, politicians have shied away from public polemics against one another, but only for a while. Often it has not taken more than a month before the old order of things is re-established and the public are once again treated to the same things which the president says are unfit for public consumption. It is probably the Kenyan way of doing things, but it does show that there is a basic division within the Kenyan political leadership. Yet, though the fact of division among politicians is as old as politics itself, there is an interesting subtle change in the lines of division that have manifested themselves of late.

A fortnight ago Mr. Elijah Mwangale, the minister for tourism, started the volleys going when he and fellow Bungoma MPs called a press conference in Nairobi, ostensibly to thank the president for having toured

Bungoma district and helped raise funds for Harambee projects. But the main point that caught the attention of journalists was the minister's claim that there were fellow ministers in the cabinet who were dissatisfied with the president's leadership. Mwangale claimed that the ministers (whom he did not name) were part of a disgruntled group within the Kenya leadership hierarchy who wanted the government to fall and he challenged the ministers to resign their cabinet posts now instead of waiting for the public to throw them out of the government at the next general election. Mwangale talked in generalities without mentioning names or specifying the manner in which the anti-ment down. A more specific charge was left to Mr. Martin Shikuku to make a few days after Mwangale's remarks. Shikuku told a meeting in Nairobi a fortnight ago that there was a conspiracy to bring the government down and that the conspirators were a group of rich businessmen, politicians and civil servants.

According to Shikuku, the whole idea is to create a disaffection among the public against the government. Kenya was full of "hyenas", Shikuku claimed, who were grabbing everything and leaving little for the average man.

The theme of "hyenas" was to receive an even stronger emphasis from the minister of state in the office of the president, Mr. Justus ole Tipis, who told a Kanu rally in Ukambani the same week Shikuku spoke in Nairobi that there were "hyenas" out to bring the Kenya government down. These, Tipis



said, were the leaders who sang loudest the Nyayo (pro-Moi) song during the day but later held night meetings "and used their fellow countrymen of lower understanding to further their selfish ambitions."

The first politician to take Shikuku, Mwangale and Tipis to task publicly for their remarks was the former mayor of Nairobi, Mr. Andrew Ngumba, who called a press conference at his Nairobi office and challenged the three ministers to name those plotting against the government. Ngumba charged that the ministers were guilty of misprision of treason and should therefore be arrested and brought to court. "Such leaders have grossly abused the trust bestowed on them and are inciting the public to revolt against the cabinet," Ngumba told pressmen. Ngumba said he was speaking in his capacity as a member of the Kanu national executive committee representing Nairobi and asked the ministers concerned to apologise to the president for their remarks.

The following day Shikuku responded to Ngumba's remarks with charge that Ngumba was the last person to be speaking on such issues. "Mr. Ngumba should re-examine himself to find how clean he is by declaring his wealth and how he got it," Shikuku said in a press statement. "People like me have already declared what we have and others should follow suit." Shikuku, however, tried to play down his earlier remarks about saboteurs. "All I said is that some rich people are milking wananchi by smuggling commodities across the borders and then come back to shout they were Nyayo," he told the *Standard* newspaper the day he issued his rejoinder to Ngumba.

That was not the end of the affair, however, for the following week the minister for lands, settlement and physical planning, Mr. G. G. Kariuki, joined in the fray when, in a meeting in Nanyuki over the Labour Day weekend, he said that the ministers who had "rushed to the press to hurl insults to elected leaders" were wasting their time because, according to Kariuki, the government has the machinery to tell who is loyal and who is not. "We in Laikipia (Kariuki is MP for Laikipia West) view the utterances of such people as full of childishness and should be treated with the contempt that they

deserve by every Kenyan worth his salt." Kariuki said that some leaders appeared to be intent on confusing the public through the mass media for "their own selfish ends in an effort to please their political godfathers". Kariuki blamed the press for highlighting issues which he said served no purpose in nation building.

President Moi appears to have quite a nettlesome problem on his hands, for there seems to be dissension everywhere he turns among his ministers and assistant ministers, or between ministers and their civil servants. Recently the commissioner of co-operatives, Mr. Alfrick Birgen, and his minister, Mr. Robert Matano (who is also secretary-general of the ruling party) were at loggerheads over Matano's decision to apologise on behalf of Birgen for remarks the latter had made about a coffee cooperative union in Meru (see *Weekly Review*, April 22). Birgen's work in trying to clear what he considers to be the mess in a number of unions also resulted in a controversy over the salary and privileges of the managing director of one of the country's biggest unions — the Kenya Planters Co-operative Union, Mr. Henry Kinyua, who was reported by a probe committee set up by Birgen to be earning nearly shs 100,000 a month in pay and allowances. Many MPs decried such lavish remuneration, but in a debate in parliament, Mr. Njenga Karume, the MP for Kiambaa and assistant minister for energy, did not think the pay too high. Karume told parliament that in his view Kinyua's pay should be increased to shs. 200,000 a month because he was doing a commendable job for the coffee farmers. Karume said he was surprised that when Kinyua's job was held by a white man no one complained about the pay the white man was receiving, and to prove that Kinyua was doing a good job Karume pointed out that the KPCU was making a profit when many parastals (one singled out the Kenya Meat Commission and the Pyrethrum Board) were making losses. "I am a coffee farmer," Karume said. "I also grow pyrethrum and I know when my cheques come." Karume's remarks drew fire from a number of quarters with some trade unionists pointing out that the assistant minister did not seem to be concerned about bridging the gap

between the rich and the poor if he could suggest that Kinyua be paid double the seemingly high salary he already enjoyed. The Kanu-owned *Kenya Times* also raised its eyebrows over Karume's defence of Kinyua's remuneration. "It is quite misleading for leaders to ignore the interests of our farmers and union members and instead

resort to issuing statements that are bound to create confusion in their minds," the paper said in an editorial about the matter. "Even more serious is a situation in which such statements come from a member within our government because the public is at a loss as to whether the statements are a reflection of government views on the matter."

Government views on most matters have of late left a lot to the imagination as the public gets bombarded by charges and counter-charges in the press between government ministers and assistant ministers. A good deal of the public bickering has to do with the approach of party and general elections which have traditionally led to a no-holds-barred fight among politicians who otherwise have had cordial relations. But there is a subtle shift in the divisions which Kenyans have been used to in the recent past. The main issue that politicians seem to be talking about may be who is a Nyayo follower and who is not, except now the personalities involved in this political game are somewhat different. Two years ago when the issue of who was and who was not a Nyayo person was being debated most vociferously in public, the assault on the so-called anti-Nyayo elements was led by ministers and politicians who have in recent months taken a rather low profile in public affairs. Apart from Mr. Stanley Oloitipiti, who still makes front-page news about his personal wealth and how he uses it, the most visible proponents at that time of the theme that there were anti-Nyayo leaders were the minister for constitutional affairs, Mr. Charles Njonjo and G. G. Kariuki. The man most opposed to the view that Kenyans could be divided into Nyayo and anti-Nyayo people was at that time the vice-president, Mr. Mwai Kibaki. At that time the president, after letting the debate simmer in the press for some time, came out with a ruling that all Kenyans were Nyayo people and that it was not right to try and divide them into two antagonistic camps.

This time round, Njonjo is not involved in the debate about *Nyayo* versus anti-*Nyayo* leaders. This time Kariuki is of the opinion that all Kenyans are *Nyayo* followers, or at least that the governments by which he presumably meant the presidents has ways of determining whether a person was a *Nyayo* follower or not and that there was no need for people "rushing to the press" to hurl insults at others by

calling them names. It is as if the tables have been turned.

If the bickering continues, as most people think it will after a short lull, the president will ultimately be forced to do more than merely order ministers to stop washing their dirty linen in public. He will have to rule one way or the other. The bet is that, as in the past, he will go for the view that all Kenyans are *Nyayo* followers — until proved otherwise.

## KANU CHAIRMAN FOR MOMBASA FIGHTS BACK

Nairobi THE WEEKLY REVIEW in English 6 May 83 pp 5-7

[Text] Mr. Shariff Nassir, the MP for Mombasa Central and Kanu Mombasa chairman, never takes a blow lying down. After virtually all Mombasa MPs and senior politicians ranged up against him a fortnight ago and vowed to "finish" him politically, Nassir responded last weekend in his usual combative manner. The occasion was a fund-raising function in Mombasa to which Nassir had invited a number of up-country politicians, including Mrs Phoebe Asiyo, (MP for Karachuonyo) and Mr. Zablon Olang, (assistant minister for constitutional affairs and MP for Ndhiwa). According to Nassir, his critics—who include the minister for cooperative development and Kanu secretary general, Mr. Robert Matano, the secretary general of the Central Organisation of Trade Unions, Mr. Juma Boy, the MP for Mombasa South,

Mr. Abdallah Mwidau, an assistant minister for economic planning and development, Mr. Martin Shikuku, an assistant minister for water development, Mr. Kassim Mwamzandi and a former Mombasa South MP, Mr. Mohammed Jahazi (see last week's *WR*) were fools and that was why Nassir had not bothered to answer their attacks which had been made at a meeting at Likoni in Mombasa. "If you argue with a fool, no one will notice the difference," Nassir quipped at the Kanu rally held in the Old Town. But Nassir was not above putting forth a few of his own arguments on the matter. Matano, Nassir claimed, was politically dead "though he may be still walking and talking". Nassir thought it odd that it took his opponents almost four years after the last general election to come up with the accusation that he had planted candidates against him in the 1979 election. "I wonder why they have not complained before," Nassir said. As far as he was concerned, Nassir said, his opponents appeared to be singing to the tune of some wealthy politicians in the background. "I do not need mercenaries to come and assist me and my group in

Mombasa politics since we understand the local politics well," he said.

The presence of Asiyo and Olang, however, did point to Nassir's recognition of the different forces which operate in Mombasa politics. Nassir's opponents had achieved a kind of political coup when they had got Shikuku to speak at the Likoni meeting and add his voice to a general chorus of condemnation of Nassir's brand of politics. Shikuku was not as forthright in his attacks on Nassir as were Matano and his coastal colleagues, but Shikuku is a Luhya and many of Nassir's constituents in Mombasa Central are Luhya, so Shikuku's association with Nassir's foes could have an adverse effect on Nassir's support in Mombasa Central. Furthermore, Shikuku arrived at the Likoni meeting shortly after a highly publicised and successful fund-raising campaign in Butere at which President Daniel arap Moi had officiated and at which the president had said some very praiseworthy things about Shikuku. His presence at the Likoni meeting and his indirect attack on Nassir could therefore be interpreted as meaning that Nassir had fallen out of

favour with the powers that be and that his opponents, who included a cabinet minister (Nassir is only an assistant minister), had the green light to go for the final political kill.

Asiyo's and Olang's presence at Nassir's rally had the effect of reassuring the Luo components of Nassir's constituency, and that is a fairly sizeable part of his support in Mombasa Central. Both up-country MPs decried the kind of attacks to which Nassir had been subjected, but like Shikuku they both avoided being drawn too deeply into personalities. Olang's presence at the meeting was particularly interesting. Olang is not only an assistant minister for constitutional affairs but is known to be very close to his minister, Mr. Charles Njonjo. Indeed he is said to be the closest politician to Njonjo among all Luo politicians. Njonjo, on the other hand is also very close to Juma Boy and some of Nassir's critics at

the coast. Indeed, in the past when Nassir has complained that his opponents at the coast were acting at the behest of some "godfather" whom he would not publicly name, it is thought that he had Njonjo in mind. Olang's seeming support for Nassir last weekend could therefore be rather confusing for Nassir's opponents, but then it could also be part of the changing politics in Kenya which only the protagonists appear to know well. In any case, if Nassir's opponents had thought that he had fallen out of favour with the powers that be, they must have stopped and pondered the fact that at the public rally the money Nassir contributed as a harambee donation included a personal donation of Shs. 10,000 from President Moi. That presidential donation may, like Olang's presence at the rally in support of Nassir, be just another of the twists and turns of Kenya politics today. ■

CSO: 3400/1438

## NTIMAMA TAKES ISSUE WITH PROBE REPORT

Nairobi THE WEEKLY REVIEW in English 6 May 83 pp 7-8

[Text] **WHILE** the two giants of Maasai politics in Kajiado have been doing verbal battle with each other, in Narok a different kind of battle appears to be going on with only one of the protagonists, Mr. William Ntimama, Kanu chairman for Narok and Narok county council chairman, doing the talking, whilst the other - Mr. Justus ole Tipis, the minister of state in the office of the president and MP for Narok North, retains an impeccable silence. Ntimama was goaded into issuing a press statement last week in response to a report of a minister of local government probe committee which has recommended a number of measures, including surcharges, against Ntimama and the Narok county council clerk for illegal use of council vehicles and for approving illegal allocation of council land to individuals, (see last week's *WR*). Ntimama in a press statement last week admitted to allowing a council grader to be used in the building of an airstrip on the farm of a former vice-president, Mr. Joseph Murumbi. Ntimama said that the use of the grader was proper in that the airstrip served the Flying Doctor Service and Police Air Wing and that the construction of the air strip was "a noble service not only to a great man such as Mr. Murumbi but also to the people of Kilgoris and the republic." Furthermore, Ntimama said, Murumbi had met all the fuel costs for the grader, and housed and fed the driver throughout the period in which the grader had been used at the former vice-president's farm in Kilgoris.

Ntimama takes issue with almost every point in the probe committee's report. He disputes the contention by the committee that he misused council

vehicles. He denies that he has used his official car outside Narok for any trip which was not official. Regarding the charge by the committee that he used his official vehicle to go to his farm at Melili, Ntimama says Melili Farm is his home and that it is in Narok and in his location. "Am I not allowed to go home, right at my birthplace?" Ntimama asks in his press statement. He also claims that his driver was ordered by the probe committee to sign a document under threat of being sacked if he did not tell the committee that he had taken two gallons of milk to Ntimama's children in Nairobi in the official vehicle. The driver, Ntimama claims, went to Nairobi on an official trip and the fact that he had an accident on his way back had nothing to do with Ntimama.

Ntimama is likewise not happy about the accusation by the committee that his council had entertained lavishly on various occasions to the tune of Shs 44,000 which had been spent "on food and beer" for councillors "and unnamed guests". Ntimama's press statement provides the names of all guests entertained by the council - and they include two cabinet ministers (Mr. Charles Rubia and Mr. Stanley Oloitipitip when each respectively was minister for local government) and councillors from a number of Rift Valley local government authorities. Ntimama makes the point that the council did not over-spend its entertainment vote in any of these occasions.

On the issue of allocation of plots in Narok, Ntimama claims that all allocations mentioned by the probe committee as irregular "show that the chairman of the plot allocation committee

who is the district commissioner of Narok signed the plot allocation records as correct". Most of the allocations in question were done in 1978 and of these the probe committee wants 178 allocations cancelled forthwith. Instead of those allocations, the probe committee has recommended that the council stick to the provisions of a circular which went out to all government authorities in January this year stipulating the procedures for plot allocation. Ntimama thinks this is asking too much. How were the councillors sitting to allocate plots in 1978 to know that a circular nullifying their allocations would be issued six years later?

According to Ntimama the whole probe issue is politically motivated by people (he does not name them) bent on having the council dissolved. Ntimama contends that his political enemies got together a group of people in Narok and sent them to Nairobi on February 3 this year to make a statement to the ministry of local government demanding that the Narok County Council be dissolved. They submitted a twenty-point memorandum which, Ntimama claims, became the bible of the probe committee which was subsequently formed to investigate the finances and management of the council. "The twenty-point memorandum was compiled by my political opponents and it was based on gossip and hearsay," Ntimama claims. "Right from the word go, the probe team adopted an arrogant and biased attitude in their investigations. They were under pressure to find grey areas at all costs.

During their five weeks stay in Narok, this team did not interview me although I had availed myself to them. They did not want to hear the other point of view."

The other point of view, as far as Ntimama and his supporters in Narok are concerned, is that their council is among the three best run councils in the country. Not only does Narok County Council not face any financial crises "like other local authorities", Ntimama claims, but it manages to provide a host of services to the people of the district. "Every year, Narok County Council spends Shs 800,000 to assist wananchi in putting up extra classrooms, building dispensaries and for the construction of cattle dips," his press statement said. "Every year my council spends Shs 140,000 on school bursaries to help needy and disabled children in secondary schools. . . . The relations between councillors and chief officers and the employees have always been very cordial. We can claim to be among the best three councils in the republic."

In view of the above, Ntimama insists, the investigations into the affairs of the council "have not come to us because of mismanagement of our affairs but because some politician wanted to get Narok County Council dissolved under any circumstances and also to get my name smeared."

In the past the only politician who has done battle with Ntimama in Narok is Tipis, but Tipis was not about to rise to Ntimama's bait on the issue. He remained, as usual, silent. ■

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EDITORIAL SCORES STRIKES IN ESSENTIAL SERVICES, INDUSTRIES

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 5 May 83 p 6

[Editorial: "Strikes in Essential Services"]

[Text] Strikes involving workers in an essential service or industry are illegal in this country. This much is well-known and appreciated by all. We therefore view with some alarm the decision by the workers of the East African Power and Lighting Company to go on strike.

The ramifications of such a strike given the fact that the company is the sole supplier of electrical power for both industrial and domestic use in this country, are far too wide and serious to ignore. The state would be failing in its obligation if action were not taken to end such a strike at once.

We have also noted the attitude of workers who at a time when their colleagues celebrate their day, Labour Day, they choose to go on strike. But having said all this, we do not imply that workers have no genuine grievances. Nor do we condone the somewhat arrogant attitude of bosses who deny knowledge of any problems whereas their workers have downed tools.

We, however, cannot fail to see a link in a series of recent events. In the past we have had robberies by people posing as members of the armed forces, and two days ago thugs tampered with a rail road causing a derailment of a train. We know we have a few disgruntled and misguided elements within our midst.

This calls for vigilance from all wananchi against these forces of disruption. We must not allow this country to be derailed from its course of peace, love and unity.

CSO: 3400/1438

KENYA

#### ANOTHER SUGAR FACTORY FOR KWALE PROPOSED

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 28 Apr 83 p 9

[Text] Kwale, Wednesday, (KNA)--Msambweni in Kwale district requires an additional sugar factory to cater for the sugar cane farmers who are allegedly not being served effectively by the Ramisi sugar factory.

During a special district development committee (DDC) meeting held at Kwale county hall recently and chaired by the area district commissioner, Mr. Antony Oyier, it was decided that the proposed factory be built by Kwale cooperative societies and if unable any other interested investor may be given a chance.

The meeting which was held to discuss 1984-88 development plan proposals for divisional and district development committees also recommended that a full post office be built in Msambweni and subscribers Trunk Dialling (STD) facilities be installed in Kwale and Msambweni townships with a connection to Mombasa.

Addressing the participants the district development officer, Dr. Kerakori Oigara, who is also the secretary to the committee pointed out that it was important to take into consideration projects that have already been started before embarking on new ones, hence abandoning of projects before completion would be avoided.

He also advised the committee that when recommending proposed projects to the DDC for implementation, they should be aware of the integrated development policy where all aspects pertaining to the development of such projects are taken into account so that they do not suffer from coordination setbacks.

Speaking at the same function Oyieri called on civil servants going to a common destination on official business to travel in one vehicle in order to save on fuel expenses.

The DC said that since all departments would be getting their development funds directly at the district divisions, locations and sublocations.

CSO: 3400/1438

## BRIEFS

BAT REVENUE--BAT Kenya Limited contributed shs. 800 million to the government revenue last year, according to a report issued yesterday by the company's chairman, Mr. B. M. Gecaya. Noting that the tobacco industry was a major source of revenue to the government, the report said the company had succeeded in developing an indigenous tobacco crop and that the firm was now self-sufficient with tobacco requirements. The report further noted that the tobacco project had saved the country valuable foreign exchange and assisted tobacco farmers with inputs. The chairman said the company was anxious to get an export market for Kenya tobacco. To achieve this goal he said, "We must ensure that Kenya tobacco is of a high quality and is competitively priced". The BAT Kenya Developments poultry business made a loss for the past three years, according to the report issued by Gecaga during an annual general meeting. The chairman said failure to obtain licences for the importation of parent stock day-old chicks, had contributed to the poor performance. [Text] [Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 6 May 83 p 11]

'KENYA LEO' SOLD OUT--Mombasa, Wednesday, (KNA)--Eager readers grabbed copies of the Kiswahili newspaper KENYA LEO as soon as they hit the streets after being launched by President Moi. By mid-morning a number of newspaper vendors in Mombasa had sold out their copies to enthusiastic wananchi. The demand for the newly launched Kanu newspaper KENYA LEO yesterday was very high in Kakamega town as the paper did not take more than an hour to be sold out. Interviewed by KNA a daily newspapers distributor in the town, Mr. Jamin Aluvusia, said a number of old men turned up to buy their Kanu paper which they said had bigger prints which could enable old people to read easily. [Text] [Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 5 May 83 p 4]

PAROCHIAL RECRUITMENT REJECTED--The government will not entertain the idea of recruiting candidates for the National Youth Service on administrative divisional basis because that will encourage parochialism. This was stated yesterday in parliament by the minister for regional development, science and technology, Mr. Nicholas Biwott, while replying to a question tabled by the MP for Nyambene South, Mr. Mathew Adam Karauri. He has sought to know the number of young people recruited into the National Youth Service from Tigania division since the inception of service. Biwott told Karauri that between 1964 and 1974 there were no records available. Since then, he said, 335 youngsters from Meru district had been recruited into

the service. He added that of the 53 young people recently recruited from Meru, four were from the member's division. The government is to spend a total of shs. 55 million to promote water development projects in Busia South, an assistant minister for water development, Mr. Kassim Mwamzandi, told the MP for the area, Mr. Peter Okondo. Mwamzandi who was answering a question told the member that the government was already constructing phase one of Bunyala-Bumala water project at a cost of shs. 25 million. This would cover Bunyala South, Bunyala/North, Hakati, Sio Point and Port Victoria. [Text] [Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 6 May 83 p 5]

CSO: 3400/1438

U.S. REPORTEDLY USES ALL MEANS TO KEEP NATION UNDER ITS INFLUENCE

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3429, 2 May 83 pp 1055-1056

[Text] ON APRIL 12, 1985, an executive President of Liberia shall be inaugurated. Until then, a lot of politicking is going to take place as local and external interests sort out their horses and jockeys in the struggle for dominance in the constitutional framework. Most of this activity will take place behind closed doors. The simple reason for this is the fact that Head of State, S. K. Doe has not given any indication of when open political activity will once again be permitted in Liberia.

The directive for would-be politicians to declare themselves and resign from their present official positions within this past month of April was very strange. If political activity remains banned indefinitely, why should any official declare their ambitions two years early even if threatened with exclusion from contesting elections "when the appropriate time comes"? At first glance, this question appears difficult to answer. Furthermore, no clues have been given because at the time of going to press, one had not heard of any official resigning.

Perhaps the clue lies in Article 83(a) of the draft constitution: "Parties or organisations which, by reason of their aims or the behaviour of their adherents, seek to impair or abolish the free democratic society of Liberia or to endanger the existence of the Republic shall be denied registration". This clause will form part of the basic laws of Liberia from April 12, 1985 onwards if this draft Constitution goes through. However, Dr. S. K. Doe has already given himself and the PRC room to ban anybody now in office from standing for elections simply because in April 1983 they did not declare themselves. More importantly, any such ban will be irreversible according to Article 114 of the draft

Constitution which contains Transitional Provisions rendering inviolate "executive, legislative, judicial or administrative actions taken by the People's Redemption Council or by any persons, whether military or civilian, in the name of that Council ..."

The sense and significance of these clauses becomes clearer when one examines the evolution of the PRC Government in the overall context of Liberian politics.

The People's Redemption Council was wildly popular because it appeared to have come to "redeem" Liberians from bondage in a domestic system strangely reminiscent of colonialism. "In the cause of the people ... until final victory," the struggle was to continue. However, this was not to be. Within one year, the PRC Government was warning against the introduction of "foreign ideology" just as the late William Tolbert had been. Master Sergeant Doe declared in favour of benevolent capitalism. Commanding General Quiwonkpa warned against "foreign elements" and their Liberian Sympathisers allegedly trying to "introduce socialist and communist ideologies".

What was happening during that year was the deployment by the US of all its local and external means to make sure that Liberia did not wander outside its sphere of direct influence. With investments of over \$700m. in Liberia, at least three major intelligence-gathering electronic installations and an extremely large CIA bureau, plus the powerful Voice of America transmitter, Liberia was an important strategic asset to the US, and this interest was openly declared in Washington.

The murder of President William Tolbert, the execution of 13 leading officials,

followed by apparently progressive policy statement warned the US that there existed the real possibility that the dominant ideology and politics in Liberia might move away from direct alignment with the US. Therefore, Washington worked hard to keep the soldier boys happy using their diplomatic and financial muscle as well as their local allies in the deposed True Whig Party. It was therefore no surprise when the PRC Government adopted open hostility to Libya and the Soviet Union in 1981.

Apart from restoring confiscated property to all except the 13 executed TWP True Whig officials, a quick survey of official personnel in Liberia since April 12, 1980 to date reads like a True Whig Party government, stage two: One can see Jackson Doe, former TWP vice-chairman and a senator, now an adviser to Dr. Doe on national and international affairs; George Boley, member of the TWP Task Force (a think tank), then a PRC Minister of State for Presidential Affairs, then Education Minister; Emmanuel Shaw (TWP Task Force chairman), then a PRC Deputy Minister of State for Presidential Affairs (on economic matters); Charles Sherman (Finance Minister under William Tubman, then a Senator) a member of the National Economic Review Committee under the PRC; Scott Toweh (a TWP executive member, and Deputy Agriculture Minister) then a PRC Deputy Minister for Postal Affairs; Sumo Jones (Lofa County Superintendent and a Senator) then Minister of Commerce before becoming Labour Minister; Troho Kparghai (TWP executive member and Postal Affairs Minister) now chairman of the National Investment Commission; Edward Kesselly (TWP executive member and Information Minister) then vice-president of the Mesurado Company under the PRC; Emmanuel Gardiner (TWP member and Deputy Economic Planning Minister) then a PRC Economic Planning Minister; Mrs. Kesselly, head of the civil service under the TWP and the PRC; Patrick Minikon (TWP head of national security and Assistant National Security Minister) then a PRC Minister for National Security; Edward Massaquoi (head of Tolbert's bodyguard) then a PRC chief security co-ordinator; Wilfred Clarke (head of Tolbert's bodyguard before Massaquoi; Deputy National Security Minis-

ter) then PRC Director of National Police; Winston Tubman (TWP member, UN Ambassador) now Justice Minister; John Rancy (leading TWP member) now Minister of State for Presidential Affairs.

The populist slogans of the early days have naturally died down. The economy is being steered with generous prescriptions and assistance from the US, the IMF, and the World Bank. Social indicators have worsened if anything, and it is reasonable for top government officials to be very sensitive to allegations that new-found wealth and luxury is making them grow fat and forget the poor people who are still "catching hard time".

Political activity in Liberia remains banned therefore discussion of this draft Constitution and the direction that politics should take in 1985 is a potentially dangerous enterprise. It is not necessarily dangerous for the horses and jockeys wearing the colours provided by the True Whig Party and their American allies. Their brand of politics and attachment to the old ways do not threaten vested and entrenched interests in Liberia. Therefore, one can speculate on Dr. Doe's presidential ambitions — is he "respectable enough for US/True Whig interests, or will they in two years have found a more suitable candidate, Alvin Jones, Baccus Matthews? Might intemperate political activity cause the military to postpone the return to constitutional rule so that "order" can be restored and "maturity" be demonstrated? All this fits in the existing framework. One can also see the potential for a split between a right wing of the True Whig Party, and a liberal wing that could use a Baccus Matthews as a populist vote-catcher.

But it is harder to see a place for a party of the Tipotehs, Fahnbulleh and other Liberians seeking to end the old order and qualitatively transform the society and the economy. These Liberians have been disappointed, not reassured, by the evolution of the PRC, seeing this process as regression simply because many old faces from Tolbert's time are back in office doing the same old things.

The curious thing about the Liberian situation is that Dr. Doe's PRC intends to keep the lid firmly shut on the bubbling pot of politics. It will be a difficult undertaking in the next two years.

PRC MEMBERS 'GIVEN FULL PROTECTION' DURING CIVILIAN RULE

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 6 May 83 pp 1, 6

[Article by J. Blamo Robinson]

[Text]

Members of the People's Redemption Council have been given full protection under the draft constitution when the nation returns to civilian rule in 1985.

According to the draft constitution, no court or other tribunal shall entertain any action whatsoever against any person or persons who assisted in bringing about the change of government in Liberia on April 12, 1980.

The draft constitution also states that no action shall be taken against anyone in the civilian government, regarding the suspension of the Liberian constitution of July 26, 1847; the establishment, functioning and actions of the PRC, the People's Supreme Court, the Special Military Tribunal, and other organs established by the PRC.

Under the transitional provisions of the

draft constitution, no court or other tribunal shall entertain any action against anyone regarding the imposition of any penalties, including the death penalty, or the confiscation of any property by or under the authority of the PRC through a decree made by that Council in pursuance of but not limited to the measures undertaken by the Council to punish persons guilty of crimes and malpractices to the detriment of the Liberian nation, the people, the economy, or the public interest.

The draft constitution also states that all treaties, executive and other international agreements concluded by the PRC Govern-

ment or prior governments in the name of the Republic of Liberia shall continue to be valid and binding on the Republic.

Also, all foreign and domestic debts or other loans and obligations contracted by the PRC Government or prior governments, or any agency or other authority in the name of the Republic of Liberia shall continue to be binding on and enforceable by the Republic of Liberia.

According to the draft constitution, the Legislature shall, by statute enacted no later than one year after the coming into force of the constitution, prescribe the guidelines and determine the procedures under which the President shall, by reason of illness, be declared incapable of carrying out the functions and duties of his office.

The person so elected President of Liberia shall be inaugurated as President on April 12, 1985, and the constitution shall come into force simultaneously with the inauguration.



## PROVISIONS OF NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION ANALYZED

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3429, 2 May 83 pp 1054-1055

[Article by Eddie Momoh]

[Text] THE RULING People's Redemption Council (PRC) has released texts of the new draft constitution presented to it on the eve of this year's Redemption Day on April 12. The draft contains 13 chapters with at least 115 articles. Unlike the dusty, bulky and complicated 1847 suspended constitution, this new document is simple and straightforward. It is more a reality of the present political trends in this century's Liberia than the archaic document which governed the country until 1980.

The draft document stipulates that the government shall be divided into three branches: the legislature, executive and judiciary with emphasis on their independence from each other. The executive shall be the President and his cabinet ministers, the legislature will be made up of a Senate and a House of Representatives, both of which must have equal powers to legislate.

Each bill or resolution which shall have passed both houses before it becomes law, will be laid before the President for his approval. If the President grants approval, it shall become law. If, on the other hand, he does not approve the bill or resolution, he shall return it with his objections to the House in which it originated. In so doing, the President may disapprove of the entire bill or item or items thereof.

This clause in Chapter V, Article 37, of the new draft constitution, sharply contrasts with the old document which under Article 2, Section 1, effectively and implicitly gave the President overriding powers to go ahead with a resolution or bill with little consideration for either the House of Representatives or the Senate after they had first seen the bill. And unlike the 1847 colonial relic which said that for any citizen

to become a legislator, he "must own and live in a hut for which he pays the hut tax", Article 32 of the new draft document emphasises that any citizen of Liberia may become a legislator as long as he or she had attained the age of 25 years and been domiciled in the constituency to be represented not less than one year prior to the time of seeking election.

The senate shall be composed of senators elected for a term of eight years by the registered voters while the House of Representatives shall be elected for a term of four years, also by registered voters. Any member elected to either of the houses through a by-election will only have to serve the remaining term of a member whose death, expulsion or resignation had in the first place created the vacancy.

Like the previous document, the new draft states that the executive powers of the Republic shall be vested in the President who shall be Head of State, Government and commander-in-chief of the armed forces of Liberia. But unlike the old document which is elaborately vague on either the election of the President or his dismissal, the new draft constitution stipulates that the President of the next Republic shall be elected by universal adult suffrage of registered votes (and not property owners as in the old constitution) and shall hold office for four years. And no person shall be President for more than two consecutive terms. He may, however, be a candidate after the lapse of at least one term; he may also be removed from office by impeachment for treason, bribery and other felonies, violation of the constitution or gross misconduct. Whatever all these will mean depend on the interpretation

of the Supreme court. The vice-President may succeed the President for reasons of death, resignation, impeachment or otherwise.

The Chief Justice will be the head of the Judiciary. He and the associate justices of the Supreme Court shall, with the consent of the Senate, be appointed by the President who also has wide powers to many other public appointments.

Chapter VIII deals with political parties and elections. It says all elections shall be by secret ballot of every Liberian citizen "of sound mind, except members of the Police and the armed forces", and being not less than 18 years of age, shall have the right to be a member of a political party. Under the same chapter. Article 82 emphasises that no association, by whatever name, shall function as a political party unless such body meets the minimum requirements laid down by the Electoral Commission and is registered with it. Registration requirements shall include filing with the Electoral Commission a copy of the constitution of the association and guidelines of the independent candidate and his organisation, a detailed statement of the names and addresses of the association and its officers and fulfilment of the provisions of sub-sections (b), (c), (d) and (e) hereof. A denial of registration or failure by the Electoral Commission to register any applicant may be challenged by the applicant in the supreme court.

But according to Article 83, parties or organisations which, by reason of their aims or the behaviour of their adherents, seek to impair or abolish the free democratic society of Liberia or to endanger the existence of the Republic shall be denied

registration; others who may have been registered but have during campaign displayed physical force or coercion in promoting any political objective, shall have their registration revoked. A deposit, in an amount to be determined by the Electoral Commission, shall be paid by or on behalf of each candidate for an elective office and said deposit shall be forfeited unless the candidates polls at least 5 per cent of the total votes cast in an election.

Furthermore, the returns of any election shall be declared only by the Electoral Commission not later than 15 days after voting and any person or party who complains about the manner in which the elections were conducted or who challenges the results thereof, shall have the right to file a complaint with the Electoral Commission. Such complaints must be filed not later than seven days after the announcement of the results of the elections. Subsequently, the Electoral Commission shall, within 30 days of receipt of the complaint conduct an impartial investigation and render a decision which may involve a dismissal of the complaint or a nullification of the election of a candidate. Any political party or independent candidate affected by such decision, shall not later than seven days appeal against it to the Supreme Court.

Significantly too, the new draft constitution makes provisions for an independent Judiciary Service commission, an Electoral commission, Office of Auditor General and an Ombudsman commission whose members are to be appointed by the President BUT with the recommendation of the Senate.

## DOE'S 'POLICY REVERSAL' STUNS, CONFOUNDS OBSERVERS

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 3 May 83 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt]

**In what appears to be a stunning policy reversal, the Head of State, CIG Samuel K. Doe, said Sunday that Government officials who did not resign against his April 30 deadline "would have the opportunity to run for elective positions when the ban (on politics) is lifted".**

In a highly dramatic reaction to the resignations, announced Saturday of Mr. G. Baccus Matthews, Director General of the Cabinet, Mr. Oscar Quiah, Managing Director of the National Housing Authority (NHA), and Mr. Marcus Dahn, Deputy NHA Managing Director for Technical Services, the Head of State said he did not believe that there were only "three" potential politicians in the country.

"Those who did not resign", he said, "are willing to wait for the appropriate time".

"With only three persons resigning", he said, "the Council is sufficiently convinced that the majority of Government officials and public corporation executives are willing to work for the promotion of the goals and objectives of the PRC Government".

The Head of State said he believed that there were hundreds of other citizens who envision a political future, but were not anxious to resign from the Government at this time.

It was against this background that the Head of State threw this bombshell: "...as the process of civilian rule gains momentum, such dedicated, patient and willing individuals would have the opportunity to run for elective positions when the ban is lifted".

#### Ban On Politics

Meanwhile, the Head of State cautioned Messrs. Matthews, Quiah and Dahn "to remember that the ban on political activities is in force and they should govern themselves accordingly".

By that announcement, the Head of State has simply

stunned and confounded observers of the political scene...and politicians as well.

#### 'Not A Trap'

What does he mean by that statement? What did he mean by the March 30 statement in the first place? Does his statement Sunday cancel out his first statement, or does it simply fulfill it? Did he anticipate who might have resigned? Or was he simply testing the loyalty, patience and dedication of his lieutenants? Are all Government officials now free to contest elections in 1985? If so, how does this match with his March 30 statement? Finally, was the March 30 statement a trap?

These are some of the poignant questions that have suddenly beset the minds of Liberians and people around the world, who have been closely watching political developments in Liberia during the last several weeks.

The last question was answered last Wednesday by the Minister of Information, Dr. Peter Naigow, who called the press to the Ministry's conference room and announced that "Dr. Doe's statement (of March 30) was not a trap"

None of the reporters who attended the crowded press conference, suggested that it was a trap; it was the Minister's voluntary submission that it was not.

Dr. Naigow reiterated the Head of State's concern, that those who remained in Government while harboring political ambitions for 1985 could be engaging in conflict of interest.

The Information Minister then declared that those Government officials who did not resign from office "would be barred from politics, whether they engaged in clandestine political activities or not".

NATION MEETS IMF CRITERIA, TO RECEIVE ADDITIONAL FUNDS UNDER SDR

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 3 May 83 pp 1, 6

[Article by Sam H. Johnson]

[Excerpt] Liberia has met the criteria of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and is to receive an additional \$10 million under its Special Drawing Right (SDR) by the end of this month.

The amount is part of Liberia's request from the IMF for budgetary support amounting to about \$100 million for the 1982/83 fiscal year. Liberia has so far received about \$80 million from the IMF.

But Acting Finance Minister, Captain John Bestman says there is another IMF condition the nation must satisfy if it is to receive the \$10 million.

According to Minister Bestman in an interview yesterday, Liberia will have to pay out some \$8 to \$10 million due external creditors as of May 14 in order to obtain full eligibility for the IMF drawing.

Minister Bestman is optimistic that Liberia would meet this requirement as in the case of the first, adding, "we have already begun to gather the needed resources."

Regarding the IMF performance criteria met last Friday by the Liberian Government, Minister Bestman said this was done well below the requirement.

Explaining why the limitation on government's expenditures as required by the IMF, Minister Bestman said it is most essential that during period of economic adjustment that expenditure be kept in line with revenue intake.

He said it was also important to limit the amount government borrows from public banks because if government continues to compete for the same resources as other sectors, this will limit the public banks' services to these other sectors.

Minister Bestman said it was equally important that foreign resources of the National Bank of Liberia be kept in relation to what it owes abroad. Asked why particular attention is paid on meeting the IMF requirements, Minister Bestman said this was so because most assistance to the country are tied to its standing with the international financial body.

NINE NATIONALS TO TAKE THREE-MONTH AGRICULTURAL TRAINING IN ROK

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 3 May 83 p 7

[Text] Nine Liberians have been selected to undergo a three month training programmes in various agricultural fields in the Republic of Korea.

The training programmes are to be conducted as a follow-up of the agreement between Korean and Liberian government signed during Head of State Samuel K. Doe's visit to Korea in May last year to strengthen cooperation between the two countries.

The first batch of the participants, Alvin Harris and K. Obe Quoi, both of the Agriculture Ministry, departed here Sunday for Korea to study livestock feeding and management. Their training programme will run from May to July.

The second group, comprising of Lt. Andrew Naimah, Thomas Freeman, S. Momo Kromah, Matthew Browne, C. Nathaniel Porte, and Edwin Bonar are to leave here at the end of the month.

Naimah and Freeman will study agricultural mechanization; Kromah and Browne will be trained in rice production; while Porte and Bonar will undergo training in fresh water agriculture. Their programme also covers three months.

The Deputy Minister for Technical Services at the Rural Development Ministry, Captain J. Edward Saygbe will leave on October to undergo a three-month rural development technology programme.

Mr. Tae Ik Chung, counsellor at the Korean Embassy here, said yesterday that his government expects the nine Liberians to effectively contribute to the agricultural productivity of Liberia after their training in Korea.

CSO: 3400/1450

CIVIL SERVANTS TO RECEIVE APRIL PAYCHECKS ON 'SCHEDULED BASIS'

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 3 May 83 pp 1, 6

[Article by J. N. Elliott]

[Text] Civil Servants are to begin receiving their April pay-checks this morning, according to Acting Finance Minister John Bestman in an interview yesterday evening.

However, the disbursement of pay-checks will be made on a scheduled basis, meaning all ministries and agencies will not be paid today. Some will receive their pay during the course of this week, the Minister added.

Mr. Bestman said civil servants should have begun receiving their pay earlier but the delay was due to the printing of the checks by the United Security Insurance on Randall Street, Monrovia.

The Acting Minister said in order to arrest the delay in the disbursement of civil servants' checks, government has purchased a computer (Wang) that would be used in the printing of government checks.

The equipment, he said, will also be used to store soft and hardware information. Bestman did not elaborate on the type of information of which he spoke.

According to him, the computer estimated at less than \$200,000 has already arrived in the country. It will be installed within the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs soon, he said.

Asked what government had been using all along to print its checks, he said: "We were paying \$200,000, annually for the use of a renter IBM computer, whose lease agreement expired last December.

CSO: 3400/1450

'BLASTING CAPS' REPORTEDLY STOLEN FROM EXCHEM

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 5 May 83 pp 1, 6

[Article by J. N. Elliott]

[Excerpt]

The West African Explosive and Chemicals Limited (EXCHEM), located in Marshall Territory, Montserrado County, has been burglarized. Authoritative sources there say more than 10,000 units of explosives have been discovered missing.

The burglary reportedly occurred on April 23, following a power blackout at EXCHEM's plant, a few miles from the Roberts International Airport, security sources probing the case said Tuesday.

They (security sources) told the NEW LIBERIAN that the burglary might have been an "inside job", owing to the fact that it was reportedly discovered minutes after the power outage during the second

shift (10 p.m.), April 23.

According to reports, once the power was restored, it was discovered that magazine number one (a storage facility) had been broken into and the explosives reportedly stolen. The storage was said to have been locked prior to the power failure.

So far, Dixon Gbann, custodian for the six storage facilities at EXCHEM, along with two of the plant's security guards whose identities remain undisclosed, are being investigated by the CID in Marshall for their suspected involvement in the alleged theft.

Probe into the affair began April 24. It is being held at the Robertsfield branch of the CID, the NEW LIBERIAN reliably learned Tuesday.



Commander Molley K. Johnson of the RIA Detachment of the CID, along with a top EX-CHEM security personnel who are said to be leading the inquiry, are reportedly in pursuit of an alleged accomplice identified as Amos Gardiah, a casual employee at the explosive plant.

CID agents are said to have established that the back of the fence surrounding the plant had been used as entrance and exit routes by the alleged burglars.

It is also believed that the alleged theft was an "inside job", because, the second door leading to Storage No. one, had reportedly been left opened. The first of two doors which had been locked was opened, but neither the locks nor the explosives have been retrieved, plant sources added.

They also disclosed that besides suspect

Gbaun, three others within the plant's hierarchy also possessed keys to the magazines. However, they have not yet been forwarded for questioning by the CID.

The case, being pieced together by the CID and other security forces, is a two-fold one. First, the burglary as a crime by itself, and, the motive for taking the particular items since, according to our sources, explosives can only be bought upon acquiring a permit from government Justice machinery, specifying the purpose for which the explosives are required.

When Mr. R. D. Stanger, General Manager of Exchem, was contacted Tuesday by the NEW LIBERIAN, he confirmed the alleged theft. However, he disclosed that it was only "blasting caps" that had been stolen. He did not elaborate.

CSO: 3400/1450

## BAKERS SAY POOR QUALITY NMC FLOUR MAY CAUSE BREAD OUTPUT TO CEASE

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 5 May 83 p 12]

[Article by T-Max Taah]

[Text]

The bakers said that the quality of flour produced by the National Milling Company in Buchanan, Bassa County, is not good for baking quality bread. This could end in the suspension of production of bread, they warned.

The National Milling Company was granted a monopoly for the production and supply of LIFE FLOUR last December when the Commerce Ministry announced a ban on the importation of flour in Liberia.

Displaying bags of rejected bread reportedly baked Tuesday night, the acting president of the Bakers Association, Carlos Martin, told the Daily Observer that consumers were refusing their products because of the unusual texture of the bread.

He said as a result of this, bakeries are losing thousands of dollars daily.

The bakers also disclosed the present condition of the locally

produced flour has greatly affected the life span (four days) of a loaf of bread. They put the life of bread baked from LIFE FLOUR to a day after which "the bread starts to get rotten".

The bakers charged that since the ban, the National Milling Company had failed to "exercise quality control because there are no competitors".

Apart from this, they said, locally produced flour is sold at \$33 against the \$27 previously charged for a bag of imported flour.

"In spite of this increase of eight dollars in the price of a bag of Life Flour, we have been told not to increase the price of bread. This flour problem has made things even worse financially", the bakers noted.

The bakers averred that to avoid a possible closure of bakeries in the country, they have launched what is referred to as "reflex action"

under which LIFE FLOUR is still being used.

But the Manager of Liberia's largest bakery, Mr. Livoti Ealio of Monrovia Bakery, said this would not continue for long as losses increase financially.

The association, therefore, recommended that the Government lift the ban partially. "Let 50 per cent of the market be opened for the importation of flour", they said.

The bakers noted that opening of the market partially would force the National Milling Company to improve its flour and give consumers and bakers the choice for quality bread.

Deputy Commerce Minister, Clarence Momolu, who met with the nine-member association expressed Government's concern over the issue and promised that the case would be studied for an immediate solution.

CSO: 3400/1450

## MILITARY TRIBUNAL COUNSELLOR RESIGNS TO ENTER POLITICS IN 1985

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 4 May 83 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt]

The Defense Counsel of the Special Military Tribunal, Counsellor E. Wade Appleton, has resigned in order to enter politics in 1985.

Appleton, a tough-minded and highly principled lawyer, resigned last Friday, April 29.

In a letter to the Defense Minister, Maj. Gen. Gray D. Allison, Counsellor Appleton said he was not seeking the presidency, but possessed "a strong desire to organise a Democratic Party to contest for seats in the House of Representatives and the Senate."

He was actually the second person to resign, after Mr. Gabriel Kpoteh, a night school teacher (April 26), in response to the Head of State's call on all government officials with political aspirations to resign by April 30 or be barred from politics in 1985.

The Head of State has since reversed his directive, following the resignation of Cabinet Director General G. Baccus Matthews, Mr. Oscar J. Quiah, Managing Director of the National Housing Authority, and the Deputy NHA Managing Director, Mr. Marcus Dahn.

The Head of State took the country by complete surprise when, on Sunday, after receiving the three resignations, he declared that those Government officials who had not resigned would be free to run for political office in the 1985 elections.

When contacted and asked what would be his position in the light of the Head of State's latest statement, Counsellor Appleton replied that he was standing firm by his resignation.

He said he was never inducted into the Army, but was only asked by the Government to serve

on the Military Tribunal as Defense Counsel.

Defense Minister Allison confirmed yesterday that he had "accepted" Mr. Appleton's resignation and had forwarded it to the Head of State for his "final approval".

The purpose of his party, he said, would be to critically monitor as an opposition, the democratic principles of whatever ruling party may be in power.

In an interview with the Daily Observer at the weekend, Counsellor Appleton said he would make Monrovia his base, but would enlist membership from throughout the country.

He said when the ban on politics is lifted, "hopefully within four to five months", he will begin campaigning for membership, and for seats in the new Legislature.

CSO: 3400/1450

## BRIEFS

LOANS TO AFC FOR REVITALIZATION--A French agricultural institution, Caisse Centrale, and the Liberia Bank for Development and Investment (LBDI), are to provide \$31 million under a loan agreement, to the African Fruit Company (AFC) in Sinoe County, to help revitalize its operations. The African Fruit Company, a subsidiary of the Mesurado Group of Companies, was early last year shut down because of mismanagement and acute financial problems. Under the loan agreement, Caisse Centrale is to provide \$25 million, while LBDI will provide \$6 million. During a meeting held yesterday with the two institutions, Agriculture Minister, Joseph N. Boakai, said that his Ministry had for the last few months been concerned about the closure of AFC. He, however, promised to adapt all possible measures in restoring tranquility on farms operated by AFC so as to ensure the successful implementation of agricultural programs throughout the country. [Excerpt] [Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 6 May 83 pp 1, 10]

THIRTY-DAY ULTIMATUM CLARIFIED--The Co-Chairman of the PRC, Major General J. Nicholas Podier, Jr., Tuesday clarified that Head of State Doe's 30-day ultimatum given political aspirants "was a strategy designed to find out those who were committed to the government or over ambitious for political office." According to Vice Head of State Podier, CIC Doe's ultimatum was never intended as an intimidation to any official serving in the PRC administration. Co-Chairman Podier made the clarification in the joint assembly chambers of the Capital when members of the Council met with representatives from the Ministries of State, Finance, Information, Defense, Planning and Economic Affairs as well as the National Bank of Liberia for briefing on the state of the national economy. Gen Podier used the occasion to thank officials of government who did not resign and reiterated that the PRC "Stands by its commitment to return Liberia to civilian rule by 1985." [Excerpt] [Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 5 May 83 pp 1, 3]

CSO; 3400/1450

PARTY LEADERS EXPRESS VIEWS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS

Major Party Leaders' Views

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR MATIN in French 19 Apr 83 p 2

[Text] RADIO FRANCE INTERNATIONALE [RFI], which had previously broadcast an interview with President Didier Ratsiraka (see our 8 April edition), yesterday devoted considerable air time to several Malagasy personalities.

RFI broadcast the various interviews its special correspondent, Philippe Leymarie, had with two Malagasy journalists--Jacob Andriambelo, the head of MADAGASCAR MATIN, and Remi Ralibera, president of the Council of the Order of Journalists--and with the heads of the leading parties in the FNDR [National Front for the Defense of the Revolution]. Interview subjects included President Didier Ratsiraka, who is also secretary general of AREMA [Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution]; Richard Andriamanjato, the national president of the AKFM/KDRSM [Congress Party for Malagasy Independence/Democratic Committee to Support the Malagasy Socialist Revolution], and the national president of VITM [People's Movement for National Unity], Marojama Razanabahiny.

Mr Andriamanjato answered our RFI colleague's questions by introducing listeners to his party.

"The AKFM," he said, "is along with MONIMA [National Movement for the Independence of Madagascar] the oldest of Madagascar's political parties. At the present time, AKFM is pleased to see that the ideas it has espoused for some years have now been embodied in a governmental program for the entire country, by means of the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution. Not only that, but AKFM is playing a large role in the evolution of Madagascar's policy by virtue of its international ties, which have been maintained throughout the neocolonial period, under all the various regimes that have been in power here. We have always maintained ties with the progressive countries, the progressive parties around the world and the socialist countries. And I think that AKFM makes a considerable contribution to Malagasy policy in this way." In answer to the question what distinguishes AKFM from the united front: "I would say that we have offered a very clear alternative, and this is what distinguishes us from the others. Namely, from

the start we endorsed scientific socialism, for a planned economy, for rationalized organization of society; we also militated for greater discipline in the country at every level. In all these particular fields, we think that we have more experience than the other parties currently in the front. Then I should also say that, not only because of its approach to problems but also with respect to relations between the leaders of the country, AKDM by its very existence (it is 25 years old this year) and indeed because of it enjoys a certain prestige in the country as the flag-bearer, if you will, of that incessant struggle that began with the pursuit of independence and continues in the effort to build the new society."

#### The Secretary General of AREMA Speaks

Then it came time for AREMA's secretary general, Mr Didier Ratsiraka, to speak on behalf of his party. "Certainly, at least in the decentralized communities, AREMA has had to turn over a new leaf. That is, we fielded new candidates, but those who were not unworthy, those who have done a good job, have remained in their positions, and the people gave them a vote of confidence. Now in terms of leadership, we are preparing for the future, we are training leaders for the next generation; and the results are a clear and irrefutable proof of the fact that the majority of the population believes in AREMA, because they have seen its performance. One would have to be blind not to see what AREMA has done.

#### The VITM

Next, Mr Razanabahiny Marojama, the national president of Vonjy [VITM], talked about his political movement. "I think," he said, "that a party is always created by its relationship to some particular historic event. And what distinguishes us from the other parties is that it was created at a historic moment for Madagascar, namely in 1973, on 28 February, when the country was more or less on the verge of making a major historical blunder, turning to tribalism. That is to say that some regions in Madagascar were almost campaigning against other ethnic groups, and it was at that point that we thought it was necessary to create a party to preserve national unity, so that the people of every region would feel themselves to be citizens of Madagascar."

Tomorrow we will look into a subject discussed by Philippe Leymarie's interlocutors, namely the issue of multi-party or single-party government.

#### Views on Single-Party System

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR MATIN in French 20 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] We continue with the series of interviews with eminent Malagasy personalities that RADIO FRANCE INTERNATIONALE [RFI] broadcast on Monday 18 April. Also, today we will discuss a sensitive issue which is exciting considerable debate in Malagasy political circles: two-party versus one-party government.

First of all, RFI's special correspondent turned to President Didier Ratsiraka. "Well, in general, when one forms a political party it is in order to try to come to power. From that standpoint, everyone does what he think he has to do. But in terms of mobilizing the population to make the revolution a success, I think that--and this is a general self-criticism--speaking in terms of AREMA, AKFM, Vonjy, MFM [Militants for the Establishment of a Proletarian Regime] or MONIMA--I think that the situation is not yet satisfactory (...)." (The president continued with the remarks published in our 8 April edition).

Next to speak on this prickly issue was the head of AKFM, Richard Andriamanjato, who said: "Our relations with President Ratsiraka could be described as excellent. Moreover, our relations did not begin with the creation of the AREMA party. AKFM's relations with Didier Ratsiraka date back to before 1975, in other words to before the Red Book and the new Constitution. Back then we were trying to grapple with the question of the country's future. Even back then we had said that it was essential for Madagascar's leftist movements to unite in order to build a new society. And people even went so far as to consider the creation of a new party, a single party. The front at the time was not considered a party front; instead, it was considered there should be a single party, a youth organization, a women's organization, a single trade federation, and the army, and that these would be the five component elements of the front.

"Unfortunately," the AKFM leader continued, "we were unable to create the single party for various reasons involved with our historical development, and so we created a party front. In my opinion, the role Didier Ratsiraka has played is an important one, and a successful one in terms of Madagascar's political history, because since 1947 that history can be summed up as a continuing search for a way to unite the country's progressive elements. And it was Didier Ratsiraka who succeeded in doing this, by establishing the front which now embraces all the leftist elements in the Malagasy political scene."

9516

CSO: 3419/859

## PARTY ACTIVITIES TO BE INTENSIFIED

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 15 Apr 83 p 2

[Text] **THE** three-day Regional Party conferences which were held in the Southern, Northern and Central regions ended on Wednesday with delegates pledging to intensify Party activities. The South passed 11 resolutions, the North 12 and the Centre 14.

**SOUTH**

The delegates pledged to continue, with renewed dedication, to remain solidly behind His Excellency the Life President, personally, the Party and Government. They also pledged to continue observing unity, loyalty, obedience and discipline, the four Party cornerstones.

They pledged to protect and preserve the hard won freedom and independence by continuing to maintain peace and calm, law and order. They further pledged to the Ngwazi that they would never allow anyone to disturb the present tranquillity.

They said they would continue sending their children to school including Moslem children, and to see to it that girls complete primary school education.

They will wipe out all the outstanding debts in respect of the 1982 Party

cards, and continue to account for all Party card monies, they said.

They reaffirmed to continue working hard in the fields and diversify food crop production.

The delegates pledged to continue observing rules of hygiene in order to be healthy for good health was a prerequisite to hard work in the fields.

They further lauded the Ngwazi for sending some of his Mbumba to West Germany and some district Party officials to Britain on educational visits.

They unanimously congratulated the Life President for giving them the opportunity to elect their own MPs, and resolved to educate the people in their respective areas on the election process and pledged to appeal for mass registration of voters to ensure that the forthcoming general elections were successful.

Delegates resolved that with reverence and humility, they would pray to God to give the Life President long life so that his people and future generations may continue to enjoy the fruits of independence.

**NORTH**

In the Northern region the delegates pledged to do

everything possible to maintain genuine unity among themselves and to eliminate any sectionalism so that the country continues to develop in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity.

They saluted His Excellency the Life President for his wisdom and foresightedness in creating the spirit of self-reliance in the people of this country.

They congratulated the Ngwazi for setting aside Youth Week during which the youth joined by their elders construct school blocks, bus shelters, roads and teachers' houses.

Delegates thanked His Excellency the Life President for setting aside Mothers' Day and the international day of prayer for the women of this country.

They hailed the Ngwazi for his untiring efforts in building the needed infrastructure which has greatly transformed the economic activities of the Northern Region.

Delegates expressed their gratitude to the Life President for introducing the rural electrification programme which will greatly benefit the rural population in the region and the whole country.



They resolved to rededicate themselves to serious farming especially in the growing of cash crops such as wheat, dark fire-cured tobacco, Burley and coffee which he the Ngwazi introduced in the region.

They discussed at length the treasurer's report and resolved to complete the renewal of Party membership before the 1983 annual convention of the MCP

They congratulated the Life President for uplifting the status of his Mbumba in society and for teaching the Mbumba how to look after their families through well organised courses on home economics.

The delegates resolved that husbands as partners should co-operate with their wives in the proper upbringing of their families.

They congratulated the Ngwazi for regarding the League of Malawi Youth as a spearhead of the Malawi

nation because as a result the youth play a big role in the development of the nation.

Delegates, as parents, pledged to continue guiding the youth of this country to prepare them for their rightful positions in the development of the nation.

#### CENTRE

At the Lilongwe conference, Mr. B.J. Bisani, MP for Chiradzulu South and a member of the National Executive Committee represented His Excellency the Life President and the National Executive Committee of the Party. Mr. E.A. Mussa Gama, MP for Zomba North represented the regional committee of the Party in the South and Mrs. E. Msuku Nominated MP from Nkhata Bay represented the regional committee of the Party in the North.

The conference, among other resolutions noted

with satisfaction, the existing co-operation between Party officials, chiefs, civil servants, the Police and the Malawi Army. They further thanked the Ngwazi for the peace and calm, law and order prevailing in the country, a necessary prerequisite in the process of nation building and economic development.

Delegates noted the slow progress in the renewal of Party membership cards. In this regard, they resolved to intensify the renewal of membership campaign and pledged to ensure that every eligible member renewed his or her membership.

The conference wholeheartedly thanked the Life President for establishing the League of Malawi Women and pledged to continue to strengthen its activities in all areas and districts in the region.

—Mana

CSO: 3400/1408

## RAILROAD TRACK IMPROVEMENTS TO BE MADE

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 15 Apr 83 p 1

[Text] **WORK is in progress to rehabilitate the railway track from Salima to the border in Nsanje for easy movement of trains at a faster speed than before and on a better track, a spokesman for the Malawi Railways headquarters told me yesterday in Blantyre.**

The work is being aided by the British Government.

In addition to this, he said, the Malawi Railways is at present negotiating to buy second and third class

coaches for its passengers and small coaches will be bought in the following year.

He told me that with the increased demand of passenger service between Mchinji, Lilongwe, Salima and Limbe, the Malawi Railways is preparing to establish a much faster train service.

Railway passenger travel increased by 15 per cent last year, according to a recent government economic report.

The spokesman announced that a daily third class passenger service between Limbe and Mchinji is to be introduced with effect from next Monday, April 18.

According to the time table the Mchinji bound train will depart Limbe in the morning at 4.30 am and arrive Mchinji at 11.00 pm, while the Limbe train will depart Mchinji at 5.00 am and arrive Limbe at 3.05 am daily.

He said although this time table was comparatively slow, the railways will, with all efforts gradually speed up the movements because their aim is to provide a fast night and comfortable train service between Lilongwe and Limbe.

The spokesman added that the normal daily train service between Salima and Limbe is still operative. It departs Salima at 5.00 am and arrives Limbe at 4.10 pm.

CSO: 3400/1408

MALAWI

BRIEFS

MEAT PRICES RISE--Prices of meat from the Cold Storage Company are to be increased with immediate effect, the Ministry of Trade and Industry announced in Lilongwe yesterday. The increases apply only to Cold Storage meat sold in Blantyre City, Lilongwe City and Zomba Municipality. The announcement says that as meat from Cold Storage now attracts a surtax of five per cent on the wholesale price, it has become necessary to increase the retail prices by the same margin, according to a report by the Malawi News Agency. [Text] [Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 29 Apr 83 p 1]

CSO: 3400/1408

## LEADERS, MEMBERS COMMENT ON UDPM OBJECTIVES

## Boubacar Dicko Interview

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 31 Mar p 3

[Interview with Boubacar Dicko, general secretary of the Mopti Section of the UDPM [Democratic Union of Malian People], by A. Sangho; time and location of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] Mr General Secretary, this year the UDPM is celebrating the fourth anniversary of its founding. What does your section see as the keynote of this event?

[Answer] The Mopti Section of the UDPM believes this anniversary has a dual theme, unity and harmony.

Unity of the Malian people, achieved within the Democratic Union of Malian People.

Harmony among the rank and file, thanks to the policy of reconciliation recommended and advocated by the Party through its democratic organizations.

[Question] The Second UDPM Congress stressed making the Party dynamic again. What measures have been taken at your level to make that undertaking effective? And what actions do you envisage in the future to strengthen the process that has already begun?

[Answer] Making the Party dynamic again went ahead with a move by the BEC [Central Executive Bureau]. It consisted of renewing the terms of all of the Party's officers, with the following basic recommendations:

- a) democratic choosing of leaders, observing the principle of "the right man for the right place";
- b) defining criteria for choosing candidates for different leadership posts based on: political commitment, competence and political courage.

After the renewal operations, which were characterized by rifts due to political pressure, the section undertook a vast campaign to ease minds and effectively reconcile the militants, then it instituted tours to make contact, to remind the militants of the behavior expected of a good militant, which is a requirement

for possession of the Party's membership card, as is the obligation to attend meetings and make a positive contribution to the discussions in the context of healthy emulation and qualitative participation.

The rank and file were consulted as part of the process for deciding upon the economic plans and their insertion into the Five Year Economic and Social Development Plan. Thus the people themselves decided which of their needs would have priority and the financial means necessary for their fulfillment.

That way each militant feels that he is concerned and is participating in building a society conforming to our aspirations and based on building an independent and planned national economy.

We are prepared to pursue all possible efforts to consolidate the Party's assets, to strengthen its bases through an intense information policy, education for awareness and mobilization of the living strength for the socio-economic promotion of the region.

[Question] How did you at your level perceive the directions set forth by the Second Extraordinary Council on Economic Problems? What impact may they have in a concrete way on your region?

[Answer] The dynamic resolutions that resulted from the Second Extraordinary National Council on Economic Problems received the support of the rank and file of our section.

In fact, the people necessarily perceived the many advantages, and how beneficial would be the rigorous enforcement of the decisions taken:

- among the advantages we are thinking of reducing the expenditures in the regional budget;
- increasing the sources of revenue;
- expanding the range of possibilities for state intervention at the regional level;
- broader distribution of managers in the vital sectors of regional life;
- destroying the civil servant myth among the populace, myths that have always had an influence on our educational system.

[Question] What are the relations at your level between the political and the administrative side?

[Answer] At the Mopti level the section is pleased with the excellent relations that exist between political and administrative. This is due to the dialogue that has been instituted between officials, and their manifest willingness to feel concerned about all problems arising among the people of the district of which they are in charge.

Assarid Ag Imbarcawane Interview

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 31 Mar 83 p 3

[Interview with Assarid Ag Imbarcawane, general secretary of the Gao section of the UDPM, by Mahamadou B. Cisse; time and location of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] Mr General Secretary, this year the UDPM is celebrating the fourth anniversary of its founding. What does your section see as the keynote of this event?

[Answer] First, before I answer the question, I should like to thank all the people in charge of the information department, particularly our press correspondent, for giving me this opportunity to express my sentiments on the life of our UDPM Party.

Also, to answer your first question, I will tell you that the Gao section of the UDPM is delighted with the measures taken by the BEC in its Circular No 24-UDPM of 28 February 1983 concerning the commemoration of the Party's anniversary. The men and women of Gao's rank and file see the keynote of this anniversary as total mobilization with participation by all, for the economic and financial recovery of our country.

[Question] The First Regular Congress of the UDPM having stressed making the Party dynamic again, what measures have been taken at your level to make that undertaking effective and make the Party dynamic again, and what actions do you envisage in the future to strengthen the process that has already begun?

[Answer] At the proper time we hailed the resolutions that resulted from the First Regular Congress of our Party. In those resolutions the Congress stressed the necessity for all officials, at whatever level, to make our Party dynamic again.

At the level of the Gao section, after the situation created by the campaign to renew the authorities, we devoted ourselves first to creating a healthy political climate and then we tried hard to make all of the rank and file members believe in the ideals of our Party. Toward that end, we used the Congress' resolutions to see that the required consensus applied in all elections (legislative, municipal, village councils, the UNJM [Malian Youth Union]).

In accordance with our option, an independent and planned national economy, we undertook vast awareness campaigns around precise objectives for development, especially reforestation--fighting brush fires--repairing dikes--managing pastoral lands--primary health care--relaunching the cooperative movement--schooling.

All of these actions were completed by putting in place our labor commissions, which are currently ready to get to work and will soon be filing their reports.

Concerning actions envisaged to strengthen the process that has already begun, the UDPM Gao section will continue to execute the tasks assigned to all the structures of the Party. The section will also get down to applying the Circulars No 19, No 20, No 21, No 22, No 23 and No 24/UDPM-BEC.

It will also watch over the strict observance of the statutes and internal rules of our Party.

[Question] How did you at your level perceive the directions set forth by the Second Extraordinary National Council on Economic Problems? What impact might they have on your region in a concrete way?

[Answer] Immediately after the sessions of the Second Extraordinary National Council on Economic Problems, the UDPM Gao section made an informational tour in all UDPM subsections in the circle. In the course of that mission we fully explained to the rank and file the pertinent decisions that came out of that congress. In return, we were satisfied to see the devotion of those same members of the rank and file to the new economic orientation conceived by our Party. The rank and file also hailed the instituting of contributing to national solidarity funds and instituting the highway toll. When all is said and done, we have great hopes for this new vision of our national economy.

In the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan there are many priority plans concerning our region and realizing all of those plans will enable us to attain food self-sufficiency, health for all in the year 2000, and total fulfillment of our water needs.

[Question] What are the relations at your level between the political and the administrative side?

[Answer] At our level, relations between the political and the administrative are good. It couldn't be otherwise, inasmuch as those two institutions are working to obtain the same objectives.

#### Mohamedoun Ag Assadeck Interview

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 31 Mar 83 p 3

[Interview with Mohamedoun Ag Assadeck, deputy general secretary of the UDPM Tombouctou section, by Assoura Albadia; time and location of interview not specified]

[Text] Mr Deputy General Secretary, this year the UDPM is celebrating the fourth anniversary of its founding. What does your section see as the keynote of this event?

[Answer] From 24 to 31 March of this year, 1983, the UDPM celebrates the fourth anniversary of its founding. The Tombouctou section of the UDPM believes the theme is reflection, mobilizing to make dynamic the economic and social development of our region, which is unfortunately grappling with a persistent drought which has already reached frightening proportions.

[Question] The First Extraordinary Congress of the UDPM stressed making the Party dynamic again. What measures have been taken at your level to make that undertaking effective and what actions do you envisage in the future to strengthen the process that has already begun?

[Answer] Yes, the First Extraordinary Congress of the UDPM stressed making the Party dynamic again. At the level of the Tombouctou section informational tours have been made at all levels and special emphasis has been placed on the smooth functioning of the basic cells: regular meetings, sending PVs [expansion unknown], placing cards. The process will be strengthened in the days to come by applying Circular No 21-UDPM from the general secretary of the Party concerning the utilization of trainees who have been trained abroad, to train the militants.

[Questions] How are the directions set forth by the Second Extraordinary National Council on Economic Problems perceived at your level? What impact might they have on your region in a concrete way?

[Answer] The directions set forth by the Second Extraordinary National Council on Economic Problems supplement those of the first one and make it possible to direct our nation toward sane management of the affairs of state and mobilization of all the country's living strength around the objectives of the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan. In that area, discipline alone pays off. The impact of these directions will be great. Enclosure and drought are the evils of our region. Only an appreciable change can bring us out of it: control of underground and surface water. The National Economic Council has laid the foundations for it: so what is needed is awareness and discipline with respect to the orientations outlined by the Second National Economic Council.

[Question] What are the relations at your level between the political and the administrative side?

[Answer] Relations between the political and the administrative depend on the success of the Party's program. At our level a fruitful dialogue has been set up in the interest of the populace, which is quite clear.

#### Boubacar Diallo Interview

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 29 Mar 83 p 3

[Text] The demonstrations marking the fourth anniversary of the UDPM are taking place in the midst of general euphoria and reflection, seeking ways and means of making the Party more dynamic, making it viable and achieving the objectives assigned to it.

Boubacar Diallo, a member of the BEC and general secretary of the Commune IV section, talked about the role of the political leaders and the rank and file in the process of making the Party dynamic again. He recommended a combined effort on the part of the leaders, who must go to the militants and teach them over and over again the principles and objectives of the Party, as well as their civic duties and obligations. This means, in short, making people more aware of their responsibilities at all levels.

There is no lack of problems and in Commune IV they are not very different from those of the other communes. To mention a few of these difficulties, among others, there is housing, water, electrification, health education and sanitation, but provisions have been made to find appropriate solutions.



In Mr Diallo's opinion political courage is one of the conditions sine qua non for the success of the Party, and is therefore a requirement for political leaders. This is why they must tell the truth and refrain from making vague and alluring promises that have no future.

The general secretary of the Commune IV section expressed a novel opinion on the wound afflicting many other communes, absenteeism from meetings. This is a false problem, he said, which is rooted in the fact that the rank and file are under-informed. According to him, there is a procedure for seeing that they participate effectively. It is to make the news of the assemblies widely known. To attract the rank and file to the meetings, it is necessary to take the information to them and not to be restricted entirely to communiques over the radio.

Placing the cards is not solely the affair of the general treasurer and his assistant, Mr Diallo believes, but it is the affair of all the members of the committee, who must mobilize to see that the rank and file understand the importance of this card, which is the militant's identity. There are no bad militants, but there are negligent militants who sometimes find that they are active members without cards in their possession. In this connection the work of the committee members consists of getting them interested, the tone having been already set by the Party's Extraordinary Congress.

To Boubacar Diallo, making the Party dynamic again is an easy task, even though it requires a certain sacrifice. The Party's action is ongoing in time and space. It requires initiatives emanating from the grassroots as well as from the summit, he continued.

The militant must understand the significance of possession of the Party's card, and fulfill all of its duties and obligations.

In short, the militant must live and breathe the Party, he said in conclusion.

#### 1982 Seen as Crucial Year

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 29 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Sekou Oumar Doumbia]

[Text] At a time when we are celebrating the fourth anniversary of our Party, it is traditional to review all areas of national life. We are not going back over all the events that marked the history of the UDPM in the last 4 years. It is sufficient to recall here the salient events of a year that was crucial, 1982. In fact, profoundly significant events punctuated that year: in February, the Ordinary Congress; the elections of 13 June; the three days in July and August; and the municipal elections last October.

The democratic interplay and the rotation rule enabled the Party to gain in assurance, even though the wind of change did not spare many of the political leaders, some of whom lost elective positions they were occupying until that year. Seven of the 12 members of the board of the outgoing National Assembly were defeated in their respective sections. As for the Central Executive Bureau, the terms of six of its members were not renewed by the rank and file.

Therefore, the officials concerned lost their positions in the last Congress at the very highest level of the Party.

Moreover, concern for speedy decisions and greater efficiency of action led the Ordinary Congress to authorize a concentration of offices in the BEC and the government, to give those institutions more dynamism. Thus, on the occasion of the cabinet reshuffle of 6 July, two BEC members, Gen Amadou Baba Diarra and Oumar Coulibaly, were appointed ministers of state, the former in charge of equipment, the latter in charge of planning and the economy.

In that operation, so many steps were skipped on the schedule for making the Party dynamic, which had been adopted at the Extraordinary Congress of February 1981.

The year 1982, therefore, was the year for putting the finishing touches on renewing the managing authorities of the UDPM in order to put "the right man in the right place" in accordance with the wishes of all the rank and file. It is now necessary to work toward "occupying the conquered land" in the esteem and confidence of the Malians. This is possible if we conform to the recommendations formulated by the general secretary of the Party, Gen Moussa Traore, which he made on 6 July after the election of the board of the new National Assembly, when he told the deputies and the members of the National Council, "according to our ability to understand the needs and aspirations of our people, the promptness with which we can analyze them, the adequacy of the measures we will pass to satisfy them and, finally, how effectively we can mobilize our human and material resources to realize those measures, the men and women of the rank and file will keep their faith in the Party and its leaders. All of this requires that the leaders be constantly present where the rank and file are, as well as an ongoing vigilance and availability at all levels."

Although the review reflects what should be retained from past activities, it also emphasizes which actions should be increased. In this area we will create commissions connected with all Party authorities.

Will they be commissions for endless arguing, ways to evade the problems? No. The Party's commissions will necessarily be instruments for reflection and swift action. They will be barometers that will make it easy to read the temperature in the Party, efficient tools for daily work, because they are able to meet together at any time. This means, then, that the various commissions will provide the renewed authorities with the new blood they need. Through the channel of its commissions, the UDPM will be listening to everyone, the powerful and the weak, to gather ideas and the best ways to make them concrete. That is where the Party's strength resides: in allowing all of its members to take the floor at any time, and not just an exclusive and intimidating group. It demonstrates the ability of the UDPM member to state his ideas, to compare them with the ideas of others and to have them applied. Thus all of us together will bring out mobilizing themes.

In these days of reflection and remembering the political balance sheet of 1982, let us also recall the highly symbolic gesture that the Party bestowed upon its general secretary. "The Executive Central Bureau of the Party, in witness of its satisfaction after all the services he has rendered and continues to render

to the Malian nation, has unanimously decided to confer on Brigadier Moussa Traore the rank of General of the Army."

This promotion reveals political value in emphasizing Gen Moussa Traore's capacity for sacrifice in the national interest, in bringing to light that his was the heavy task of coordinating the life of all the days of our Party, to make it immortal. The BEC thus glorified, for the rank and file, the moral authority, the expertise and the elevated spirit shown by Moussa. The promotion must be viewed as an act of faith that was correctly evaluated by the rank and file.

### Independent, Planned Economy Sought

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 31 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Alphonse S. Berthe]

[Text] The UDPM has opted for an independent and planned national economy. On the occasion of Party week it is sitting to consider these words by an economist: "To build an independent national economy means: to develop the economy in a diversified manner; to equip it with the most recent technology and to create solid bases for raw materials, thus organizing an economic system with vast scope, in which all branches are organically linked so as to make it possible, for the most part, to procure domestically all of the agricultural products necessary for the prosperity of the country and the improvement of living conditions."

Let us just glance at the priority projects included in the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan. There are 79 of them, dealing with agriculture, livestock raising, agro-industry, exploitation of energy and mining potential, improvement of sanitary conditions and education, internal and external opening up.

The world is experiencing an economic crisis that is unprecedented in its magnitude as well as its duration. Mali's 1981-1985 Five Year Plan is a real challenge to the world economic situation of today! Its goal is realization of a program based on the ideals of liberty, justice, peace and progress in unity, democracy, labor and the unwavering determination of our people to jealously preserve its sovereignty over our natural resources and the fruits of our own labor.

In the course of this five year plan the farmer, who has already had access to the plow, the tractor and other tools, will see his technical potential improved qualitatively and quantitatively.

Although an appeal was made for international solidarity to finance this plan at the money-lenders' round table in Bamako in December, the domestic financial contribution provided for in the new five year plan is more significant than in former plans.

Mali was West Africa's granary. At the end of our new five year plan our country should return to that position. Mali today belongs to large regional and subregional bodies which expect a great deal of her. That everywhere in Mali we be able to form stockpiles of all kinds of raw materials indispensable to feed

our people and our factories so that our production units arrive at total integration! For this reason we [illegible] the general policy and orientation resolution of the First Ordinary Congress of the UDPM, which exhorts the rank and file to constantly improve production and to productivity in all sectors and workplaces. By doing this we will at last begin to see an era of prosperity for the country, which will be conspicuous for the improvement in the living conditions of our people.

The will to succeed will not fail us. To achieve all the objectives of the Five Year Plan, all of the nation's living strength will be mobilized in the UDPM, in the democratic, trade union and professional organizations, and no effort will be spared.

To make our Party (the UDPM) dynamic and revive it, to give it new inspiration, this is the fundamental objective that we have set, for the realization of which all of us, militants and leaders alike, will work together. We know that today we have committed ourselves on our word of honor to take up the new activities with the new leaders. Thus we have enthusiastically found ourselves with the same thoughts in favor of a similar action to rebuild the nation.

As of that moment, all conditions have been brought together so that we may succeed.

8946

CSO: 3419/928

MAPUTO REPORTS U.S., WORLD REACTION TO RAID

MB241511 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 24 May 83

[Text] International condemnation of the South African attack on our country yesterday continues. The correspondent of the Portuguese news agency, ANOP, in Mozambique, who was the first foreign newsman to arrive at the site, confirmed the existence of damaged civilian residences and Mozambican civilian victims. Newsmen quoted by REUTER pointed out that the victims appeared to be civilians and that they had not seen the destruction of any targets connected with the ANC or a Mozambican missile base in the area as alleged by the South African regime.

In a statement issued in New York, UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar deplored the escalation of violence in southern Africa and the loss of innocent lives.

He pointed out that the incident underlined the urgent need for peaceful solutions for the problems of the region.

In Washington, the U.S. Government deplored the intensification of violence in southern Africa and pointed out that it did not serve any objective. State Department spokesman John Hughes said that the South African raid against Mozambique was not justified.

From Lisbon, the president of the Portuguese Republic, General Ramalho Eanes, sent a telegram to President Samora Machel strongly denouncing this yet another act of aggression against an independent state. The violation of the territory of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the actions which followed thereafter violate all norms of international law and relations among peoples, the message from the Portuguese statesman underlined. In another message, the Portuguese Government condemned the South African attack and described it as a new and lamentable stage in the escalation of violence in the area, which Portugal deplores and condemns.

A statement from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out that nothing could justify the aggression against Mozambique as in independent state.

In Rome, the Italian foreign minister, Emilio Colombo, condemned in the strongest terms the South African raid and described it as a detestable act of revenge. He was speaking in the presence of Italian President Sandro Pertini and the African members of the diplomatic corps accredited in the Italian capital.

A number of other countries expressed condemnation of the South African attack. They include Britain, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

CSO: 3442/242

CHISSANO DISCUSSES S. AFRICAN RAID WITH DE CUELLAR

EA241546 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 24 May 83

[Text] The Mozambican foreign minister, Joaquim Chissano, had had a meeting in New York with the Secretary General of the UN Javier Perez de Cuellar. At the meeting, Mr Chissano briefed the secretary general on yesterday morning's attack on Mozambique by the South African Air Force.

The attack was directed exclusively at nonmilitary targets and the death toll so far is two women, two children and two men. Another 40 civilians are in hospitals, several of them in critical condition.

Mr Chissano met the UN secretary general just before the convening of the Security Council debate on Namibia. It is expected that over the next few days the two men will meet again to assess the situation created by the latest South African attack on Mozambique.

Dozens of foreign newsmen have arrived in Maputo to visit the areas south of Maputo which were attacked. At a briefing last night, they were told by the information minister, Jose Luis Cabaco, that none of the targets was the (?real base) or missile site, as the Pretoria regime had claimed. Mr Cabaco said that the main aim of the attack was to kill people in their houses and in the streets. He displayed hundreds (?of pieces) of shrapnel which had been found on the ground after the attack. The minister said the shrapnel had come from fragmentation rockets clearly designed to murder people.

Meanwhile, international condemnation of the South African Air Force raid is continuing:

Zimbabwe condemned the raid as a wanton act of aggression, saying that the violation of Mozambique's territorial integrity cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. The Zimbabwean Government said that it was high time the Western powers who collaborate with the Pretoria minority regime accept responsibility for such acts. The OAU described this act as an act of genocide and Zambia said the raid was barbaric. Earlier condemnations came from the USSR, Portugal, Italy and France.

Inside South Africa the secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Tutu, denounced the raid while reiterating his support for

ANC's (?call) for a democratic and nonracial South Africa. He added he was against violence of all kinds from anyone [word indistinct]. The National Union of South African Students condemned the raid saying that as long as the blacks were deprived of political rights and repression was used to maintain white domination there can be no peace in the country.

CSO: 3400/1467



## REPORTERS VISIT SCENE OF AIR RAID

MB250800 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 24 May 83

[Text] Eighteen babies between the ages of 2 and 14 months had a miraculous escape in yesterday's raid by the South African Air Force on civilian targets in Matola, just outside Maputo. The babies were getting changed in the creche of the (Somopal) jam factory when the warplanes struck, firing rockets and machineguns. Three rockets smashed through the factory wall just in front of the creche, and the window of the building was shattered, but by sheer chance none of the babies was even injured. Reporters who visited the scene said that if the rockets had been fractionally higher all the babies would probably have died. Three workers at the factory, two of them women, were killed in the attack.

Meanwhile, the South African ambassador in London has been offering an explanation as to why a jam factory was attacked instead of ANC guerrilla bases and Mozambican missile sites. The ambassador said on the British radio program that the ANC must have been using the jam factory as a cover for its operations. The ambassador gave no explanation as how this might have been carried out.

Dozens of foreign journalists have been touring the area which was attacked. During their tour, the newsmen found many pieces of shrapnel and antipersonnel rockets which had been fired at people and houses. The journalists were told by the information minister, Jose Luis Cabaco, that the main aim of the attack was obviously to kill people in their houses and in the streets. The South African authorities have confirmed that the air raid was code-named Operation Shrapnel.

Messages of condemnation of the South African attack on the outskirts of Maputo are still coming in from around the world. One of the messages was delivered at a reception today by the Federal German ambassador to Maputo, Hasso Buchrucker, on the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of the fundamental law of his country. Mr Buchrucker said he viewed with great concern the South African Air Force's military attack against Mozambican citizens of Matola, which resulted in the loss of women and children's lives. He said the attack was a violation of international law carried out in contempt of Mozambique's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The ambassador called for an immediate end to this kind of premeditated border violations, which, he said, could worsen tensions in southern Africa and pose a serious threat to peace.

CSO: 3400/1467

## BLACK MARKET ACTIVITY CAUSING FOOD SHORTAGES

Harare THE HERALD in English 2 May 83 p 5

[Text]

THE practice of buying goods and reselling them illegally at higher prices, now common among Mozambique's indigenous traders has led to an acute shortage of food-stuffs in urban centres, particularly Maputo and Beira.

In Nacala these traders are called *kacugo*, in Beira *muhalele* and *candonga* in Maputo. The malpractices that stretch from the street-corners to the major sharks of black markets provide a living for about 62 percent of Mozambique's urban families.

In restaurants, for example, patrons hardly eat the food they buy because it is badly cooked and they usually check to see if the price charged is the same as that stipulated by law. So the owner closes the restaurant and puts up a notice saying: "Closed for redecoration".

However, the owner continues to receive his supplies of food and drink regularly from the state-run corporations, since he has not bothered to inform them that he has closed the restaurant. What follows is that the food goes out through the back door swiftly at two or three times the price he would charge if he sold it legally in the restaurant.

If the suppliers become aware of the trick, a few thousand dollars change hands to silence the in-

spector in the state corporation. On the other hand, the wealthy traders buy foreign currency at five or six times the legal exchange rate.

They take that money to South Africa or Swaziland, where they buy commodities that are unavailable on the Mozambican market. They sell these goods in Mozambique at scandalous prices that will more than cover their next foreign currency deals.

Recently a new type of illegal trading has emerged. It is an even more destructive form of *muhalele*. When a foreigner visits a shop and asks for food, the shopkeeper looks the visitor in the eyes to ascertain that he is a foreigner, and then replies: "I've got some eggs."

"OK, then I'll have two dozen," says the foreigner. "Well, I can sell them to you, but it all depends," says the trader. "I'm not worried about the price," adds the foreigner.

"The price is even cheaper than the legal one. But it will have to be in foreign currency," the shop owner tells the visitor. When the foreigner hands over his dollars, the satisfied shopkeeper adds: "Don't forget, whatever you want, come here. It's cheaper than it is at the Loja Franca."

The Loja Franca is Maputo's duty-free shop. It has many goods, ranging from cigarettes to

cars. There visitors pay in foreign currency, which goes straight to the Central Bank of Mozambique.

According to labour officials, candonga is the result of unemployment. Over 95 people a day enter Maputo and 30 in Beira from the countryside looking for jobs. In the city they are unable to find jobs. As a result, they become candongas or thieves.

Early this year when the Mozambicans were complaining bitterly that the government had turned a blind eye to the problem of illegal trade, the police suddenly launched an operation against the candongas and dozens of them were detained. The radio and the Press gave great prominence to the actions of the police and of those members of the public who provided the information that led to the raids.

#### ON TRIAL

The following day those arrested were taken to court. Some were put on public trial at Hol Ling, in downtown Maputo next to the central market, and received prison sentences ranging from six to 12 months to be served in community rural re-education centres.

When most foodstuffs the people were buying from candongas at the black markets disappeared, they started muttering: "Now there's nothing to feed our families. They have arrested those who used to help us."

As one prominent businessman in Maputo put it: "It is not enough to jail hundreds of candongas. But it is necessary to flood the markets with produce, otherwise kecugo in Nacala, muhalele in Beira or candonga in Maputo will reappear and prosper in Mozambique." — APS Features.

## MOZAMBIQUE

### BRIEFS

ARMY PROMOTIONS GIVEN--The post held by each of us is a conquest. It is a sign of recognition by our people. The people do not forget the heroism of their children. This statement was made by Marshal Samora Machel during an awards ceremony for the Mozambique armed forces yesterday. The Mozambique armed forces now have two more major generals, three brigadiers, and three new colonels. The new general officers promoted yesterday are (Candido Jeremias Mondlane) and Domingos Fondo, who are veteran fighters of the armed struggle for national liberation. Matias Juma, Jose Ajape, and Manuel Manjiche received the rank of brigadier. Manuel Antonio, (Lourenco Cumbe), and (Antonio Chicussa) were given the rank of colonel. [Excerpts] [MB211100 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0430 GMT 21 May 83]

FRG AMBASSADOR CONDEMNS RAID--Today, Hasso Buchrucker, the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany accredited in Maputo, condemned the military action which was perpetrated yesterday by the racist Pretoria regime and left six civilians dead. Hasso Buchrucker pointed out that his country rejected under any circumstances the use of force to attain political ends. The FRG diplomat was speaking at a reception he hosted on the occasion marking the anniversary of his country's Basic Law. During the reception, Ambassador Buchrucker underlined with satisfaction the success in relations of cooperation and friendship secured by his country and the People's Republic of Mozambique in 1982. On the occasion, the minister of home trade, Aranda da Silva, expressed the desire to further strengthen the relations of cooperation and friendship between the two countries. [Text] [MB241555 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1400 GMT 24 May 83]

SWEDISH COOPERATION TALKS HELD--Talks between Mozambique and Sweden began in Maputo this morning to discuss cooperation between the two countries. The Mozambique delegation is headed by Magid Osman, secretary of state for coal and hydrocarbons, and the Swedish party by (Gustav Edgren), secretary of state for cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the start of the talks the head of the Swedish delegation said that the Swedish Parliament has accepted the government's recommendation to increase the annual assistance to Mozambique to 255 million krona. During his speech (Gustav Edgren) expressed his satisfaction because the talks were being held at a time when the Fourth Frelimo Congress has just adopted important decisions which, he stressed, will have an impact on the scope of the next 2-year cooperation between the two countries. [Text] [MB240943 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 23 May 83]

# TORTURE, BIOLOGICAL WARFARE IN NAMIBIA CLAIMED

London AFRICA NOW in English May 83 pp 41-43

[Article by Mike Osborne]

[Text] *Africa Now* has been given access to tape-recordings of interviews given by a permanent member of the South African Defence Force (SADF) to the South African War Resisters Movement in London. In the course of over four hours of questioning he made a number of startling allegations including:

- the extensive and systematic use of morphine and other drugs during the interrogation of prisoners by the SADF army of occupation in Namibia.
- the development of a binary chemical weapons shell by Armscor (the state armaments corporation)
- the development of an ethnically specific weapon by the SADF — one that Black people would be more susceptible to.

These allegations were made not out of sympathy for the plight of prisoners, but because the soldier was angry at the treatment of fellow servicemen in the SADF at the hands of their own officers.

Of course the claims of one bitter and dubious man must be treated with caution. However, the extent of detail in his revelations strongly substantiates his claims of intimate knowledge of the SADF set-up in Namibia. Furthermore, his accusations accord with a mass of evidence that has been built-up in recent years concerning South African activities in the field of torture and chemical and biological warfare (CBW).

The possibility of an elaborate South African disinformation plot cannot be ruled out, but it is difficult in this instance to see any reasoning behind such a scheme.

*Africa Now* cannot reveal the soldier's identity since he has committed an offence punishable by death in South Africa — a sentence that would most likely be carried out "unofficially."

Our informant claimed that he was serving with the Medical Intelligence Units

in Namibia. These units have only recently become separate entities in the armed forces, having been set up by the South African Medical Service under the ultimate control of the Surgeon-General, Maj. Gen. Nicolas Johan Nieuwoudt.

During 1980 the Senior Medical Officer of Sector 10, the major operational area in northern Namibia, based at Oshakati, was an army major. He was in charge of all casualty treatment in the sector and was particularly responsible for the administration of drugs in the concentration camp at Oshakati. It was when the major himself became addicted to morphine that he became increasingly incompetent and consequently caused the unnecessary deaths of many South African soldiers.

On one occasion, the major sent the wrong type of blood to a casualty evacuation operation. Another time a "casevac" helicopter arrived at the scene of a landmine blast without any blood and before transfusion was possible the injured man was dead.

Despite the Surgeon-General's hearing of the major's addiction and his bid to kill himself and his wife, the SADF have been involved in a cover-up, claims the informant. The South African Medical Service have not been informed and his name has not been struck off their register.

It was not only the incompetence of his superior that concerned the informant. He expressed his anger at the extent of casualties and accidents in the operational areas. He estimated that there were between eight and 14 SADF deaths per week in combat. Included accidents deaths were running at between 55 and 60 per month.

He suggests that in 1981 alone there were at least 400 combat casualties and 200 accidental deaths. These assertions contrast with the official SADF figure as given in the October 1982 issue of their journal.

*Paratus*. Their figures for the period beginning in 1979 are 107 combat casualties, 93 military vehicle accidents and 144 shooting and explosives accidents, giving a total of 344 deaths.

Further accusations from our source point to gross inefficiency in the SADF. He insisted that national servicemen were not properly trained for combat. On one occasion they were not even armed; when the R4 rifle was introduced to operational units, four days elapsed between the handing in of their R1 7.62 mm rifles and the arrival of 5.56 mm ammunition for the R4.

He further alleged that alcoholism is a serious problem for many officers and that morale and trust between officers of different units is low.

It is, however, in the field of torture and concomitant use of addictive drugs that the most dramatic assertions have been made.

### Dossier

The use of torture on political detainees has received great publicity in the past (see *Africa Now*, April 1982). Over 50 people have died in detention and in October 1982 a dossier of 70 statements of former detainees claimed: electric shock torture, interrogation while naked, enforced standing for long periods and enforced exercise, sleep deprivation, suspension in mid-air during interrogation, near suffocation from bags tied over the head, squeezing and hitting of the testicles.

In the Oshakati concentration camp even more horrifying methods are employed on the captured SWAPO guerrillas or persons suspected of being SWAPO members or collaborators. Here prisoners are divided into three groups: "hard-core terrorists;" women; "tame terrorists and collaborators."

Within the camp there are two central interrogation centres where inquisition is accompanied by routine physical torture. These techniques are employed by the counter-intelligence staff of sector 10, headed by Commandant Kassoff, in conjunction with the Senior Medical Officer and the Medical Intelligence Officer, both qualified doctors. A common method employed is the use of electric shocks administered via a field telephone. A new method frequently utilised is the injection of ether under a prisoner's finger nails.

Our source says: "I have personally seen Dr X, the son of one of South Africa's top neurosurgeons, doing these things . . . A wounded terrorist was brought into the sick-bay. As soon as he had been stitched up the interrogation started. Dr X injected ether and the prisoner passed out. he was revived with ice water and the interrogation continued. I have also seen Dr X supervise the use of the field telephone. One of the

electrodes was stuck right up the guy's penis."

More "persuasive" methods are used on the so-called hard-core prisoners who often resist physical torture methods of this kind. These inmates are forcibly injected with morphine over a period until they are addicted. Then the drug is withdrawn and interrogation commences.

The pain of withdrawal ("cold turkey") is so intense that many prisoners talk in return for another "fix." The drug mogadon is used in conjunction with the morphine in order to "control violence" and to partially relieve the cold turkey so that interrogation can continue.

*Africa Now* spoke to Dr Martin Mitcheson, director of the Drug Dependency Unit at University College Hospital, London, a consultant to several drug rehabilitation units and a recognised authority on drug addiction in Europe.

He commented that whereas an established addict might be controlled by the withdrawal of opiates the same could not be necessarily said for freedom fighters having considerably greater physical and psychological strength. However, the use of morphine upon the isolated individual might certainly raise the hope of extracting information. He also pointed out that the use of morphine in conjunction with mogadon would be conventional treatment for injured persons requiring strong pain-killing drugs. This, however, would not explain the informant's claim concerning the repeated use of the combination.

Mogadon itself could be considered to be a more debilitating drug than morphine. Lynn Perry, a drugs worker with the London agency Release, commented that mogadon, whilst normally used as a sleeping tablet or sedative, can be addictive if used over a period of months and that withdrawal from it is a lengthy and painful process.

Users suffer mental confusion and changes in perception akin to those associated with hallucinogenic drugs for up to two years after "kicking the habit."

### Depressant

The informant also claimed that the drug scopolamine was used at Oshakati, particularly on women prisoners. This drug is a very powerful depressant of the central nervous system and is used in psychiatric institutions to control extremely violent patients suffering from hypermania and delirium. As such it is classified as a powerful hypnotic in as much as it has a strong calming and tranquilising effect. It induces physical and mental depression so that the subject is less in control of his or her faculties than normal.

According to Release, in up to 50% of cases short term amnesia for periods of

about one and a half hours are induced. During this period the susceptibility of the subject to suggestion may be increased. Hence scopolamine has commonly been known as the "truth drug" in military circles.

The subject of drug abuse is already familiar to the South African army for it is an internal problem that it has suffered for some time. As long ago as 1972 Col. Aubrey Levin published a paper in the South African Journal of Medicine entitled: "The Pattern of Drug Taking among Drug Dependent South African National Servicemen." Research and treatment of personnel has taken place at Levin's institution, No. 1 Military Hospital, Voortrekkerhoogte, in the Department of Psychiatry.

Supervision of torture and interrogation at Oshakati is said to be by a group of Argentinian doctors and soldiers who arrived in Namibia in March 1981. It was co-incidentally in the same month that the Surgeon-General visited Argentina. Of course, the Argentinians are no strangers to torture practices and it was in June 1981 that *Africa Now* reported that Argentinian diplomatic personnel in Pretoria had previously been notorious torturers in Buenos Aires.

The informant claims that Argentinians regularly visit Oshakati to guide the Medical Intelligence Units in their experiments with various chemicals that might be useful in interrogation.

Intimidation is also used as an interrogation technique. Our witness states that on one occasion a prisoner was placed at the rear end of a helicopter exhaust. In the presence of a group of prisoners his body was blown to pieces as a lesson to the onlookers.

Furthermore, the heads of dead guerrillas are kept in the police morgue at the civilian hospital in Oshakati and during the interrogation process prisoners are taken to see them. This practice seems conceivable given the testimony of SWAPO soldiers at the Luanda International Commission. Here they claimed that an officer from the 32nd South African Battalion cut off guerrillas' heads after a battle.

The informant had further claims to make in relation to chemical and biological warfare (CBW).

This information, he claims, was given him in the early part of 1981 by an officer who claimed that he was involved in the setting up of a "Chemical and Biological Unit."

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### Chemicals

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The officer told him that the SADF was developing a 155mm shell which had two compartments that contain "clear liquid

chemicals." He added that "the two chemicals mix when the shell is in flight and when it explodes the effect is deadly." Much of the research was said to take place at the Institute for Aviation Medicine (IAM) in Pretoria.

Previously known as the Military Medical Institute, the IAM specialises ostensibly in the treatment of airforce personnel who need specialist care. However, its site has 20 underground storeys used for "ultra-secret research."

The weapons as described accords with the binary chemical shells that have recently been developed in the US. Binary weapons contain two components which mix together only after the projectile is launched to produce a nerve gas.

In the US there are plans to produce 70,000 155mm shells of the nerve gas GB per month and additional factories are planned to produce binary combinations of the even more deadly nerve gas vx. The technology and resources required to produce such weapons is considered trivial for an advanced industrialised country. South Africa's potential for production of chemical weapons has already been reported (*Africa Now* September 1981).

Nerve gases could make extremely efficient weapons in combating guerrilla fighters: they are very highly toxic, death occurring within seconds of contact; guerrillas are unlikely to have CBW protective equipment; contamination of the battle zone could be for as little as two days. However, these advantages are mediated by factors such as unpredictable weather conditions which might blow the gas into civilian areas.

Our informant also claims he was told that the SADF was researching into the use of "viruses and things like that — chemicals or diseases that will only affect Blacks." He thought that this involved work on sickle-cell anaemia, a genetically transmitted blood disorder to which Blacks are significantly more susceptible than other races.

He claimed that this work was being carried out near the town of Louis Trichardt in the northern Transvaal. The location was in an unpopulated area so that "accidents wouldn't cause too much of a problem."

The possibility of the development of ethnic weapons was first mooted by the Swedish geneticist Carl Larson in a 1970 issue of the US journal, *Military Review*. The idea was further developed by Dr. Richard Hammerschlag in a paper presented at a symposium on "Chemical Weapons and US Public Policy" in 1974.

Hammerschlag notes that the concept of ethnic weapons arises from the fact that, "both chemical and biological warfare agents might be designed to exploit

naturally existing differences in gene frequencies among specific population groups."

A growing number of findings indicate that many proteins exist in several genetically controlled forms in human populations, known as polymorphisms. The best known examples of these polymorphisms are the blood group substances ABO and Rh, and the existence of sickle-cell anaemia, due to a variant haemoglobin molecule.

### Psychological

Hammerschlag concludes that "almost without exception, no gene has been found that will divide a population in an absolute sense. On the other hand, from a military point of view it would probably be argued that the psychological effects on a population of incapacitating or killing 25% of its members cannot be discounted."

Whether such research is taking place in South Africa is unknown, but there certainly exist the facilities at such institutions as the National Institute of Virology in Sandringham and the Veterinary Institute in Onderstepoort. The production of such biological weapons would be greatly enhanced by the use of genetic engineering techniques which are also known to be in the advanced stages of development in South Africa.

The South African Medical Association has certainly recognised the importance of such novel techniques. Several papers were devoted to these subjects in its July 1981 annual congress.

For instance, Professor R. D. Woods of the University of Cape Town gave an address entitled: "The production of virus vaccines by genetic manipulation techniques." Of course scientists and doctors do not in general intend that their research should be used for genocidal purposes, but threatened states do not always share their ethical qualms.

### Disease

South Africa is a signatory of the 1975 Biological Weapons Convention, but like many other countries retains a capability.

The possibility that governments are carrying out research into ethnically specific disease as part of their "defensive" programme should not be discounted. In the US it has been suggested by the newspaper *People's World* that the Naval Biosciences Laboratory in Oakland is a centre for dubious research into a disease called Valley Fever, caused by the fungus *Coccidioides immitis*. It is a disease endemic to various hot and arid areas of the Americas and the disseminated form develops in a far greater percentage of Blacks than Whites. For instance, during a dust storm at the Naval Air Station, Lemoure, California, proportionally eight times as many Blacks as Whites developed *coccidioidomycosis*.

The Naval Laboratory spokesman, Dr Hilary Levine, insists that the research there is directed to creating a vaccine. However, the institution was widely attacked during the Vietnam war as a biological warfare centre and the production of vaccine that could be withheld from some populations is indeed a powerful military weapon.

It is significant that a great proportion of the research into this disease takes place in other military institutions such as the Brook Army Medical Centre, Fort Sam Houston, the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, Washington D.C. and various war veterans hospitals.

Research also takes place in less stable parts of the world. In Argentina work has been carried out into the disease by teams at the University of San Luis and in the Centre of Microbiology of the Faculty of Medicine at Buenos Aires University. Their results could easily be shared with their political bed-fellows across the South Atlantic.●

*Additional research: Chris Tyler, Massimo Pezzati*



'EL MOUDJAHID' INTERVIEWS SWAPO LEADER

PM131030 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 29-30 Apr 83 p 7

[Interview with SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma by Mohamed Abderrahamani--date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Mr Chairman, you are taking part in a conference whose aim is to help find new means of rapidly implementing the UN plan for Namibia's accession to independence. What precisely do you hope this conference will produce?

[Answer] The international conference of support for the Namibian people [held in Paris] is very significant because of the eminent people taking part in it who have all asserted their attachment to Namibia's liberation.

The early stages of this conference have been very interesting. The position expressed by French External Relations Minister Claude Cheysson is important in that it contrasts with the position adopted by the United States, which is making the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola a precondition for Namibia's accession to independence. Our participation in this conference gives us the opportunity to inform people about the development of the Namibian people's struggle. For SWAPO the aim is to alert public opinion in the capitalist countries which are supplying South Africa with both arms and financial aid. The IMF has just granted the Pretoria regime \$1 billion credit. This is, to some extent, a bonus for aggression.

[Question] Do you think that once this conference's conclusions and resolutions have been adopted by the UN General Assembly they have some chance of being implemented?

[Answer] The conference was sponsored by the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council and, since all the participants reaffirmed in their speeches their support for and solidarity with the Namibian cause, there is every reason to hope for practical results. The main thing is to succeed in changing the Reagan administration's position and making European opinion aware of the actual nature of this problem.

[Question] The Namibian people are determined to achieve their national independence and, to this end, are waging a heroic struggle under SWAPO's leadership against the South African occupier.

What is the situation in the field?

[Answer] At present the situation is critical. The Namibian people are living under a martial law regime. South Africa is using all kinds of means of repression to force the populations to cease all resistance. SWAPO is determined to pursue the struggle against South African colonialism and the imperialist forces supporting it.

Real independence necessarily depends on a people's struggle. The Namibian people are determined to make all the necessary sacrifices to liberate the country from oppression, under SWAPO's leadership.

[Question] Do you think that the forms of aid supplied to you by the non-aligned movement and OAU in this struggle are adequate?

[Answer] No aid is ever adequate in a struggle. Nonetheless, we are aware of the scale of the aid and support given to us by the OAU and nonaligned movement and greatly appreciate them.

[Question] The Contact Group members have used all kinds of subterfuge to dispute SWAPO's representative nature, thereby joining forces with South Africa, which is using puppet parties to perpetuate its policy of domination and exploitation. What is your opinion of this group's mission?

[Answer] The Contact Group has not succeeded in its mediating role. Moreover, it has not succeeded in its unavowed role of breaking the revolution. In this connection it should be stressed that its members have acted as defenders of the South African regime, to which they are bound by major interests through the activity of transnational companies taking part in plundering Namibia's natural resources. Thus for them it is advantageous to perpetuate the domination.

[Question] The frontline countries are making major sacrifices to support SWAPO to speed up the advent of independence for Namibia.

What strategy do you advocate to thwart the acts of aggression perpetrated by the Pretoria racist regime against these independent states?

[Answer] The minority regime in place in South Africa is stepping up its aggressions against the neighboring countries to try to push back the tide of freedom as far as possible. Its effort is in vain. For even if the oppression is stepped up, the resistance will continue and the struggle will only end when the Namibian people's full inalienable national rights are restored.

CSO: 3419/937

POLICE HARASSMENT OF REPORTER SCORED

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 7 May 83 p 10

[Editorial]

[Text]

There is a wide difference between information essential to the security of a State - and political harassment. The latter is usually the tactic resorted to by a Government bankrupt in policy and having but only one recourse - to silence the voice of opposition and of dissension. Weak Governments resort to arbitrary actions; tyrannical systems based on the law of the muzzle of a gun; throw people into prisons without trial; but a civilised State based on the norms of justice and decency, does not resort to such methods. Thus it is a totalitarian and Police State making use of those methods.

The Windhoek Observer had to suffer once more last week an immense humiliation which was depicted by the lame SWABC-TV news service wrongly, after a staff member of that news service was repeatedly told what the true facts were. The poor man of course is not that stupid - although he sounded like an amateur in the field of reporting - but he is under instruction to say that the Windhoek Observer was at a SWAPO conference. That is the music that certain of the rubbish in our country want to hear!

The Police have the fullest right to question any person or anybody, and to confiscate whatever papers they deem as being necessary to prosecute the purpose of the interrogation - to glean information on either crime, be it political or otherwise, or for that matter, State security.

But this newspaper in view of these people's knowledge, felt that, if they would contact us and demand from us whatever was given to us for publication - for we have nothing else in our possession, we will do so, for the law compels us to heed such a request.

We asked that our political correspondent be afforded the utmost of expediency and courtesy and

if papers were taken from her, to have then photostatted and returned within hours - because she had to wait a whole day for a connecting flight. That we did not do because we are a spy of the security systems which in our opinion are quite often acting as agents of political harassment; no, we did it because we believed that they were aware of Gwen Lister's arrival at Jan Smuts, and to save this woman, who only did her job and who was not in possession of classified material any inconvenience, to deal with her on the basis of speed and efficiency. After all, the material in her possession is not classified but meant for public dissemination. And we are not underground agents - neither for this government or for SWAPO. We are not in the pay of Moscow or Pretoria.

We are fighting for a better deal for our stricken Fatherland and we know that someone must do it, and get up and try and speak the truth in the face of whatever adversity. We are not seeking the praise of the South African Government and neither the Rubles of Moscow. We are seeking a future for our country that is based on the foundations of propriety, decency; of nationhood, of living in peace and to the best advantage of all.

Must we gather from what happened to Gwen Lister, that the South African Intelligence Services are not even capable of introducing their own spies into that conference? If that is the case, one can only say God help South Africa!

And to take that woman's private papers, which were related to diaries, notes, and telephone numbers or contacts! After all, when we make a telephone call to anyplace abroad, it goes through the monitoring services of South African.

And if they request us, we will, as poor as we are, attach recording systems to all our telephone and give them the tapes every nightfall, of all our contacts, engagements and even dates with women!

We have got nothing to conceal. And if there is something that we should conceal, it is our growing bitterness, our growing resentment against political crimes, fostered and instituted by a Police State.

After all, many of these Johnny-come-latelies have never read a book on Communism and come from somewhere in Pretoria and then try to prescribe to a son of the Fatherland on what is right or wrong for his country.

CROSS-EXAMINATION OF FORMER SECURITY CHIEF REPORTED

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 7 May 83 pp 44-45

[Text] **WINDHOEK:** The man who heads the Security Police in South West Africa, and who has taken severe exception to the Observer's reference to this branch of the Police as 'the Secret Police', Brigadier Johannes Velde van der Merwe, was called as a witness by Mr Sam Maritz.

Brigadier Velde van der Merwe said in evidence that he had been the supreme Commander of the Police's Intelligence Service from December 2, 1979 until March 25, 1983. In that period all the various offices of the Police's Security Service resorted under him and were under his command, inclusive of Opuwo and Walvis Bay.

Since March 28 of this year, he said, he had been associated with the Security Police's head office in Pretoria.

He started his career in South West Africa as supreme chief of Security Police with the rank of Colonel, but last year he had been promoted to the rank of Brigadier. At Opuwo his task force consisted of Warrant Officer Harmse, Constable Botha, a temporary member named Constable du Plessis, Sergeant Ruben Ipinge, and 25 special constables.

The escalation of terrorism, as the Brigadier put it, started in Kaokoland, and he had been compelled to reinforce the Security Police's task force there and Captain Pat King and Sergeant Oberholzer were sent there.

Led by Mr Maritz, Brigadier van der Merwe said that discussions had taken place in the beginning of May 1980

between members of his branch, the South African Defence Force and Police, and attended by himself, General Dolf Gouws, Commanding the Police in South West Africa and General Jannie Geldenhuys who commanded the Army in South West Africa at the time.

At the discussions they decided that drastic steps be taken to get the conditions in Kaokoland under control. Brigadier van der Merwe said that it was decided at that meeting to concentrate as far as possible on the morale of the Kaokoland inhabitants, to strengthen such morale and at the same time to try and curb insurgency activities.

That was why he had sent Captain King there in temporary capacity and placed him in control with the explicit order to concentrate on the gathering of information in regard to insurgency activities, investigations in regard to terror activities and to move around in the area and to try and fortify the morale of the local people there and where possible, to organise them in such a manner that they could offer resistance to SWAPO insurgents.

Brigadier van der Merwe explained to Mr Justice Mouton that Captain King's assignment was disassociated from the Security Branch at Opuwo, the Branch Commander and the normal activities of that branch.

Of course said Brigadier van der Merwe, Captain King was obliged to co-operate on a very close basis with the Branch Commander at Opuwo, but that

did not mean that Captain King had supervised the activities of that Branch or had stood in command of Sergeant Harmse, who was the Branch Commander.

The one was assigned exclusively to investigate insurgency activities and the other was in charge of the normal activities of the Branch.

Brigadier Velde van der Merwe said that at the start of 1980 SWAPO intensified its onslaught in Kaokoland, making use of terror tactics, as he called , intimidation, landmines and holding of meetings from place to place, from where propaganda documents were distributed with a view to creating the same conditions in Kaokoland as which prevailed in the Ovambo-speaking region at the time.

He said that it was normal terror practice to create a condition of fear in order to get the people into one's power so that these people could act mindlessly, so that these people could, then later called upon, afford the insurgents assistance. To cite the extent of the gravity of the infiltration, Brigadier van der Merwe said that during the course of 1980, a total of 13 murders had taken place, all of them members of the inhabitants there; there were 22 landmine incidents; two cases of sabotage and other incidents when information was received, that insurgency activities were taking place in the area.

At present, said the Brigadier, the personnel strength of his Security Police at Opuwo consisted of 19 permanent members, including two warrant officers and 186 special constables.

Presently the threat in that region was not bigger than in 1980. Therefore, said the Brigadier the personnel strength in 1980 was below what it should have been.

On August 18, 1980, he received a report from Opuwo that 25 people of the village of Okavare in the Kaokoland had been arrested and detained for questioning. Brigadier van der Merwe then explained, in response to question, how the system of documentation worked in his department, thereby

elucidating how the communication from Opuwo was received, dealt with and filed.

A report from Opuwo mentioning Mr Johannes Kakuva was received by him on September 12, 1980. The people were held in terms of the provisions of Security Proclamation AG9 of 1977.

Colonel Coffee said the Brigadier was the officer assigned with the task of deciding whether a detainee should be held longer than the prescribed period and said the Brigadier, he could recall that on August 28, 1980 Colonel Coffee was involved in a radio conversation with the Security Branch at Opuwo to discuss the continued detention of people held there. Brigadier van der Merwe said that he supported further detention and in fact had tabled a report to the Administrator General in which he recommended continued detention of these people and the reasons why. Information had been received, he said, that these people whose further detentions was ordered, had contact with insurgents and had provided aid to guerrillas.

Brigadier van der Merwe cited the names of those people who were to be detained further in terms of his recommendation.

The Brigadier cited briefly the reasons why each of these people had to be held longer, inter alia that they had admitted attending meetings convened by insurgents, had provided infiltrators with food and water, and so forth.

He added that charges of murder had also been investigated. Thus, on August 28, 1980, the office of the AG issued warrants in which the continued detention of these people was ordered for a further two months.

Brigadier van der Merwe read from documents, but in terms of an earlier ruling by Mr Justice Mouton the classified papers of the Security Police handed in at the trial may not be disclosed.

Brigadier van der Merwe said, after reading the documents, that continued detention of the detainees was a matter

even supported by Mr K. Riruako, described by the Brigadier as the Paramount leader of the Herero people.

What was asked for, the witness said, was an extension of the warrants to enable the Police to hold the detainees for a further two months as from the date of October 1980.

It was imperative he said, that those people co-operating with the infiltrators be removed from the community. Brigadier van der Merwe said that the very essence of the survival of the insurgent was precisely the person who was prepared to afford the infiltrator with information related to the movements of either Police or Army forces.

Another problem was then that once the Security Forces got into contact with these people who had afforded aid to the insurgents, they were unwilling to help either the Police or the Defence Force. As a result of this tactic, said Brigadier van der Merwe, the insurgent had such a network of helpers in the Ovambo-speaking region that at one stage it was virtually impossible to cope with the situation.

In Kaokoland, he went on, SWAPO attempted to create the same conditions and his Branch had been geared to curb this sort of thing as far as possible. That way why, he went on, the moment it was realised that certain members of a specific region had given in to the insurgent, they were in the power of the insurgent, to remove those people from the community. There was simply no other method or manner to campaign terrorism, he said and particularly so because Paramount Chief Riruako had said quite correctly, that the presence of these people would adversely affect the morale of all the inhabitants of Kaokoland and eventually it could contribute to a situation leading to uncontrollable conditions.

Mr Maritz showed more letters written by the Branch, some of them at the office of the AG and others to the head office of the Police and the Brigadier identified them and gave evidence on each one shown to him. He said that he was the officer who

eventually signed a document that was a recommendation that the detainees be released. At the time he signed that paper, matters had improved considerably in the Kaokoland and the Security Forces had succeeded in getting, as he put it, a grip on the situation. It was no longer necessary to keep the detainees in further detention, Brigadier van der Merwe said.

Mr Maritz put it directly to the Brigadier to comment on the suggestions made in Kakuva trial that certain detainees were kept separate and

detained as such in order to circumvent the possibility of them leaking information about the death of Mr Johannes Kakuva - a death intimated by the applicants in the matter before Court, being the Kakuva family.

In reply the Brigadier said that if there was a substance of truth in such a suggestion, then it should be accepted that the Security Police had deliberately misled the AG and in doing so his Branch could not even have dished up other stories in order to make further detention possible. He repeated what he said earlier, that his Branch was in permanent contact with Paramount Chief Riruako (the Paramount reference being that of the Brigadier.) With him there was liaison and negotiations.

Mr Maritz asked Brigadier van der Merwe about the method of interrogation of those villagers of Okavare who were detained in terms of

Security Proclamation AG9 of 1977.

Mr Maritz specifically wanted to know about the issues of being blindfolded, of whether the detainees were allowed to be seated or whether they had to lie on their stomachs when questioned and whether their hands were tied behind their backs.

The Brigadier said that he was not exactly acquainted with the methods in the case of Johannes Kakuva and others when they were interrogated. But in the operational area it was imperative that when people were arrested to blindfold them so that one could not see who the other detainee was.

Asked about compensation there was to Police informers, Brigadier van der Merwe said that already in May 1980 at the meeting between his branch, the Army and SA Police, it had been decided to print pamphlets and to offer as a reward R2 000 or ten head of cattle for information, which could lead to the arrest or death of an insurgent or insurgents.

The pamphlets were distributed and, said Brigadier van der Merwe, he had a personal discussion with Captain King in regard to the compensation offered and told the Captain that as far as possible the offer had to be utilised in order to gain as much information as possible.

Brigadier van der Merwe asserted that it was vital to protect the identity of a person under arrest when taking him out into the region on an investigation. He admitted that it might have been offensive to members of the community that a blindfold was used, but his

Branch had been compelled to make use of this method in order to protect the man under detention and the others who were being questioned.

Asked to describe the administration of a security branch such as Opuwo, he said that it was the task of his Branch to gain information and to make this available to the Security Forces in order to expedite action to curb terror attacks and in turn to save lives. In the case of his Branch information was placed in secret files, there was an investigation diary in each of these secret files in which all information which was regarded from the point of security as important was duly entered into.

Brigadier van der Merwe gave a lengthy detailed explanation of how the security system documentation worked. There was no court ruling specifically in regard to this but it is perhaps prudent to omit it from the news columns in view of the ever-readiness to pound the Observer.

CSO: 3400/1443



# POLITICAL ATTITUDES, FEARS STUDIED

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English May 83 pp 29-32

[Excerpt from part one of two-part series by Denis Beckett: "Namibia, The Tragedy Behind the Land of Comic Opera"]

[Text]

**P**ETER Kalangula must suffer some anxious moments. All three of his predecessors were murdered. First Chief Filemon Elifas, the first chairman of the Administration for Ovambos. Then Clemens Kapuuo, first president of the DTA. Most recently, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, who had succeeded both Elifas and Kapuuo. When he resigned the two posts Kalangula followed him into each.

Kalangula, however, is amiable and easy-going by any standards — let alone by the standards which might be expected of a person with such a shadow hanging over him.

He quit one of those offices — the DTA — early last year, disenchanted with the DTA's refusal to break down its own ethnic divisions and form a single united party. Keeping up his Ovambo job, he at the same time started a new party — the Christian Democratic Alliance for Social Justice, which sets out to be an entirely non-ethnic party and, at last, the *real* alternative to Swapo.

On the face of it, the SA government should be much less keen on Kalangula's CDA than on the DTA. But not so. The CDA is clearly the favourite of the Army and Kalangula is being cultivated as the potential leader of a "moderate" anti-Swapo government. The irony in this is considerable. Kalangula walked out of the DTA because it overstressed ethnicity and minority group interests. P.W. Botha then dropped the DTA for almost exactly the opposite reasons and apparently in the hope of steering SWA politics back into an undiluted ethnic mould. Now, as Mudge says, "Kalangula is the SA government's blue-eyed boy. It doesn't make sense."

One element of it does, at least in Southern Africa's race-obsessed context. Whatever the colour of his eyes, Kalangula's skin is black. Moreover, he is an Ovambo. One of the things the government had against Mudge was that he was the wrong colour for the job. Maintaining that it is impossible for a white leader to rally support against a black nationalist organisation, the government in effect dropped its last white hope in Namibia, while continuing in South Africa to militate against whatever possibilities there are of whites acquiring credibility in black eyes.

**S**omething else which makes sense to a lot of people is the joint committee set up by Kalangula and the Army to hear complaints about army atrocities. Everyone, even the most enthusiastic Swapo supporters, says that the soldiers have been behaving better since the committee became active.

Kalangula himself asserts firmly that the successes of the committee have won the CDA enormous support.

**P**eter Kalangula has a true third-world civil service office, with an anteroom packed with petitioners and complainants and people with problems. Two crank-handle telephones repose on his desk. Behind him is displayed a large drawing of the Ampstaf vir Ovamboland se Wetgewende Raad. Kalangula is hospitable and immensely articulate, speaking English

like an Englishman.

He also speaks Afrikaans like an Afrikaner, which is not nearly as rare a feature among black leaders up there as it is in SA.

Here, most black hotshots of over 30 or 35 or so would happily indulge in a little banter in Afrikaans — especially when they're abroad, or when there are foreigners present, when some mysterious chemistry takes place and it becomes a joy and fulfilment to give expression to their South Africanism. But you'll look a long way to find one who'll actually speak Afrikaans seriously.

Not so in SWA — there's no embarrassment at all attached to Afrikaans, and there are plenty of blacks who speak it fluently and in the purest tones. Which, to South African ears, rings nearly as odd as the sound of black people chattering away in German.

Kalangula, since his departure from the DTA, has become a prime exponent of that most popular of Namibian sports — DTA-bashing. "When I was president of the DTA there were many people here — like the people in education — who wouldn't speak to me. Everybody assumed that they were SWAPO sympathisers. Now they are behind the CDA.

"We have had to work hard to get sympathy away from SWAPO. We're succeeding. Our meetings are now well-attended. There is much discussion. In the past the people did not want to talk — now they are making positive contributions. The biggest change is that in the past a lot of people used to think that without Nujoma there was no independence. Now they are openly saying that we — the CDA — can bring about real independence. They applaud us openly now, they do not hide their support."

Kalangula concedes that there "used to be" brutality on the part of members of his new-found friend, the Army, but claims that change has been drastic since he and the Army started their joint committee of enquiry. "The attitude of the people to the Army has become good. They used to be scared to even go near a base. Now they go there even if they can't speak Afrikaans." Kalangula admits that there are still problems. The Army co-operates fully, he says, so do "some" of the police units.

"Is Koevoet one of those or not?"

Long silence. Finally: "I have no comment to make on Koevoet."

Doesn't Kalangula suffer from the time-honoured problem of middle-men in

extreme situations? That the "masses" turn down collaborative, co-operative, alternatives in favour of the crisp one which they believe will turn the tables? That they have a natural tendency to leap into the arms of quick radical solutions which don't clutter their promises with cautions about being nice to the oppressors?

Kalangula denies it. Nope. That doesn't apply in Namibia. He's there to stay, he affirms — sincerely and nobly, but one wonders quite how realistically. There is a long list of unhappy characters of history who have denied it before him — Kerensky, Spinola, Bakhtiar, Muzorewa...

It's not surprising that there are people who call Kalangula "Kalorewa". Indeed, it would be surprising if they didn't. The little bishop has passed his name into Southern Africa's public life. Any moderate, of whatever stamp, can and does get labelled with the Muzorewa tag by his opponents. There was plenty of "Mudgerewa". On the one side from people accusing Mudge of being the fellow-traveller whose role would be to deliver the country to the Marxists. On the other, from those who said that his purpose was to sell phony change to the blacks without frightening the whites or demanding sacrifices of them.

#### Amiable Apostle of Resistance

**O**OM Sarel Bekker's fundamental approach to political issues is not far removed from that of the aide of ex-President Nixon who got himself into a lot of hot water by telling journalists that he didn't know why there was so much fuss about "the black question". "There's no real problem" he said. "Niggers only need three things to keep them happy — loose shoes, tight pussy, and a warm place to sleep."

Oom Sarel likewise has difficulty working out why everybody's getting so hot and bothered about a political dispensation. "The black man of Suid-Wes is not politically conscious" he said. "If he gets a full stomach, sex and drink, then he's doodtevrede".

Why, then, all the visible evidence of dissatisfaction — such as the fact that something of the order of one in ten of the menfolk of Owambo have at one stage or another gone off to fight

for Swapo? "Ah" says Oom Sarel. "The blacks are very suggestible — you get all these people telling the black man that he's been getting a raw deal, and he starts to believe it."

Oom Sarel has no doubts about the outcome of a U.N. supervised election. Swapo would win, he says. This would not be because of the natural inclination of the voters, but because of the circumstances. "If we lose control, they see the U.N. coming in, then they think 'daar vlug die boere'. They think the boere have lost, so they must vote Swapo because the U.N. is baas now and the U.N. is on Swapo's side".

Needless to remark, that is not a proposition upon which Oom Sarel looks with any great enthusiasm. He repeats flatly and unequivocally that "the whites will not accept a Swapo government." They would overthrow it, by whatever means at their disposal.

Oom Sarel maintains firmly that it's possible for the whites to keep power indefinitely; it's possible to keep the races separate forever; it's possible to raise the white birthrate; it's possible to sublimate black nationalism "like we keep the sex drive under control by working hard". It's possible even for SWA to go back to what it was once before — with only white people in white places and no blacks coming in and sitting down at the table next to you.

Like most extreme right-wingers, Sarel values the approbation of blacks, and believes that blacks have healthy, manly, respect for him — but not for the Nats and other liberals, who gat-kruip them. Indeed, as Sarel strolls down Kaiserstrasse he's constantly raising his arm in greeting to all sorts of people, of every different complexion. Some of them — even some of sophisticated ex-exiles — even go so far as to gladden his heart by calling him "Baas". Sarel maintains that this displays their natural veneration for the white man, and believes that it makes them feel uplifted to have chatted with the Baas. Not all the blacks would entirely agree, but there is something fundamentally encouraging in the fact that people holding world-views as remote as it is possible to get can nonetheless find room for civility and jocularly within them.

Despite his fulminations and vows to resist to the death, it's difficult to imagine Oom Sarel quitting SWA. It's

not beyond the bounds of possibility, even, that within his time the stage will arrive where Oom Sarel and his kind have not only become used to sitting at adjoining tables at the Cafe Schneider with people of other colours, but might even be sitting at the same table. Sure, right now that looks like a daydream. But then, a mere five years ago the thought of as much as sharing floor space would have provoked cries of *skande*.

En.kyk hoe lyk hulle nou.

Mr Big

**F**RANS Ndongo made his way as far as Std. 6 at school. Then, what with family finances pressing, and the high school miles away from home and not being particularly motivated — seeing as how the teachers didn't seem to have much idea of what they were teaching, and whatever it was hadn't helped them greatly, anyhow — Frans quit.

He started doing odd jobs, and a bit of tailoring.

Now he is one of the richest people in Namibia. His huge HQ complex — bottle stores, agencies, wholesalers, garage — is surrounded by a large double-security fence, and covers several acres. Frans' Merc is the Merc of all Mercs, and amongst the top nobs around South West, where the status symbol is not whether you have a Merc but what kind of Merc you have, Frans holds the prize. His 1982 Mercedes 500 ELC is the pride of Namibia, and is reputed to be worth something in six figures.

Which is probably less than his other runabout — a huge ungainly monster which looks like it escaped from the set of *The Empire Strikes Back*. Ndongo explains that there is a clear division of labour. The Mercedes is strictly for trips South — to Tsumeb and Windhoek. Tar roads only. The armoured car is for travelling on the dirt roads of the North, where the landmines are.

Plenty of people say nasty things about Mr. Ndongo. One of the stock stories in the guesthouse — the white part of Oshakati is that any Ndongo employee caught pilfering is never seen again. That, the implication is, explains

why he has done so well. He can turn the ruthless ways of the wild to work for him. Next morning we check this story out with our Ovambo friends, who at first respond with a hearty laugh. Pilfering employees get sacked, they say; and maybe prosecuted if the scale is big enough. On reflection, one of the Ovambos gets very irritated: "How can they think such things of us?"

From a different perspective, there are other people who say that the "sell-outs", the Ndongos and Kalangulas who have made good through the white man's system, are so unpopular that they have to ride around in armoured cars. That causes Ndongo great hilarity. "What do they think? That the landmine has got my name on it? Nobody is safe on the dirt roads of the north without an armoured car."

Is Ndongo apprehensive of the prospect of a Swapo victory? Theoretically, he should be one of the biggest losers — an indigenous millionaire in the heartland of a left-wing government. He responds with heat, albeit not wholly to the point: "No. No. Why do you blame Swapo for everything? Tell your government to take away

their landmines. Tell your government to take away Koevoet. Not only Swapo does bad things."

#### Teutonic Twist

**T**HE ethnic fixation in Namibia leads to assorted odd twists. One of these is personified by the stately figure of Werner Neef. Neef is the No. 2 man (and reputedly the principal bankroller) of Peter Kalangula's Christian Democratic Alliance and is appropriately nicknamed "The Prussian Squire".

Neef stands nearly two metres tall, brandishes a moustache of the Kaiser Wilhelm tradition, dresses not only in suits (itself a rarity in SWA) but suits of such impeccable cut that he would be the envy of a Hamburg bank manager, and is abundantly endowed with a teutonic dignity which a slight hardness of hearing serves only to augment.

Only in Namibia could such a man be found, as he is, seated in the National Assembly as the *ethnic* representative of that most un-Prussian of peoples — the Ovambo.

CSO: 3400/1444

# SOME OUTSTANDING POLITICAL, BUSINESS LEADERS PROFILED

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English May 83 pp 30, 33-35, 37

[Excerpts from part one of two-part series by Denis Beckett: "Namibia, the Tragedy Behind the Land of Comic Opera"]

[Text] Peter Kalangula Man in the Middle

**A**MONG followers of labour affairs in South Africa, it is a kind of innocent source of one-upmanship to be able to tell the AWUs from one another. "The AWUs" are the proliferating black trade unions, most of whose names end in "... and Allied Workers Union". There is MAWU - Metal and Allied- and then there is GAWU, EAWU, BAWU, SAAWU, PPAWU, SFAWU, TAWU, SPAWU, BCAWU, etc.

Understandably, any labour-watchers who are able to keep tabs on that lot tend to feel that they must be pretty expert.

The bad news is that actually they're still in the little league. They should make their way to Namibia, and try to figure out one political party from another. That'll *really* tax them.

There's SWAPO, of course, and the DTA. But then there are some 44 others as well. There's the Original Namibia Party, a fundamentalist bushman party with similar principles to those North American Indians who demand the cancellation of the sale of Manhattan to Peter Stuyvesant. There's Aksie Red Blank Suid-Wes Afrika, which makes the HNP look soft. There is the resounding SWAPDUF, the SWA People's Democratic United Front, which now, in case this is not explicit enough, also goes by a second name - The Damara DTA. To confuse the unwary a little further there are not one but two NUDOs, and there is both an NCDP (Namibia Christian Democratic Party) and an entirely

separate party called NCDP-Pillay. Then there's a Riemvasmaak United Party, and so on. Some, of course, exist in little more than name alone, and quite a few consist of just a couple of enthusiasts with a letterhead and a roneo machine. But they're there.

Nor is this the worst of it. There are the local codes. AG8, AG9, AG26, Resolution 435. . . South-Westerners drop this kind of language into their conversation as readily as you or I might employ an "and" or a "but". Bewilderment is an emotion not hard to associate with a foreigner trying to understand Namibia.

But relief, after a fashion, is at hand. One need merely wander along to the Café Schneider and order a cup of coffee.

If some enterprising dramatist were to invent the Café Schneider, the critics would say: "Nice idea, but it stretches the imagination too far."

Which indeed it does, even allowing for truth being stranger than fiction. The Café Schneider, in the middle of Windhoek, is the nerve centre of a goodly part of Namibian politics. On a fine day, one has a good chance of bumping into the leaders of ten or fifteen political parties, including parties which would ban, imprison or do worse to one another had they the chance, sitting at adjoining pavement tables discussing strategy over cups of coffee.

There's Oom Sarel Bekker, leader of the HNP, expounding his belief in the permanence of white resistance. At the very next table, the leaders of SWANU are discussing the nationalisation of private property.

The other tables are populated by the usual collection — soldiers, tourists, leaders of other political parties . . . Among them, more likely than not, are at least three or four politicians who have within the last few weeks said things about one another which in another era would have given rise to duels to the death.

Political debate in South West is robust, to put it mildly. It is standard practice for newspapers to carry wild and abusive criticisms by politicians of one another — “. . . He doesn't even know where his parents are from. . . he is. . . based on hypocrisy, greed, selfishness and hatred” reads part of a recent dispute. “With your hair split into the air, eyes red, and your face hanging . . . I never knew you were such a coward. . .” is from another.

A third: “Mr Likando's remarks are Abominable, Inane, Childish and Bizarre”. One editor writes of another — the latter the proud holder of a doctorate — that he is a traitor, spineless, a total amateur, and that SWA's biggest misfortune was his arrival, and concludes: “If this is still not clear to you please get another Doctor of Literature to explain it to you.”

**T**he rapier, so often the favoured weapon of political debate in more temperate climes, is unknown to Windhoek. There the battleaxe holds sway. There are rules, though. Such as that you no longer fling ethnic labels around in the same crass way as we do in SA. Not in print, anyhow. You don't bluntly call people Hereros, Namas, or whatever. You politely refer to them as “Nama-speaking citizens”. Whereafter, formalities fulfilled, you can go ahead in good conscience to indulge in whatever ethnic labelling you like. As in this recent example: “Why do certain Herero-speaking leaders, like you, never tell the truth?”

Since practically everybody involved, on both the giving end and the receiving, takes tea at the Schneider, the scene there ought, by rights, to look like something out of *Gunfight at the OK Corral*. In fact, the politicians who've been throwing the most dreadful abuse at one another in public nod civilly and exchange greetings when they meet at the cafe.

SWANU, in theory the most left-wing party of the lot, has its offices next door, on the top floor of a building which proudly displays the inscription

“Departement van Nasionale Onderwys” at its portals. In pride of place in the SWANU office is a photograph of its two top Comrades with the late Chairman Mao, all looking very pally. SWANU's central committee is called nothing else but the *Politburo*.

To a South African the sight requires more than a little adjustment. Comrades? Chairman Mao? Politburo? It beggars the imagination to try to envisage the equivalent in South Africa. Any party here which indulged in even one tenth so bold a flirtation with the symbols of the Iron Curtain would soon find that the only government building it could acquire premises in would be Pretoria Central or Modderbee.

Also within spitting distance of the Schneider is the Windhoek office of SWAPO itself. The office is closed up now — the people manning it had faced too much harassment, explains Daniel Tjongarero, SWAPO's chief internal representative. But it's still there, and SWAPO is still paying the rent. Again, it's difficult to imagine the ANC putting up its board on a suite in the Carlton Centre, which is the SA equivalent. Tjongarero himself now operates from the Council of Churches offices in a largely white residential suburb on the outskirts of the city. He's been in and out of jail more times than he cares to remember, but he's still there, in the open, a card-carrying member of the organisation which the South African government painstakingly portrays as the next thing to Satan.

“What kind of communications do you have with SWAPO outside?” I ask.

“Normal.”

“What! You mean if you want to speak to Nujoma you just pick up the phone and dial?”

“Well it's a bit difficult when he's in Luanda, 'cause the phone connections aren't too good. But if I want to speak to Gurirab in New York I just speak to him.”

“Of course,” adds Tjongarero, as an afterthought, “they listen to what we're saying.”

Of course.

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**F**ROM the Cafe Schneider perspective, the notion of Namibia as the Land of Gilbert and Sullivan becomes seductive. It becomes easy to forget that behind these urbane sophisticated ladies and gentlemen there are hordes of warriors bent on bringing one another's lives to an end. Easy to forget that half the women in the

North have forgotten what it is like to wear anything other than black.

**F**or me, the sobering came abruptly: In the midst of all the laughing and joking around the coffee tables, an old acquaintance strolls by. Warm greetings. More laughing, more joking.

Then I ask after a mutual friend, one Oom Hans. I remembered Oom Hans with warmth from years gone by, when he had striven mightily and with overwhelming sincerity to turn me from the error of my liberal ways and convince me that 'n kaffer was not the same thing as 'n mens.

Suddenly, the laughing and joking was gone. My friend's face clouded over. "Oh no. No." he said, shaking his head: "Oom Hans is bad. Bad, man. He doesn't speak to anyone any longer."

What?

"No, he doesn't shave either. Or change his clothes. Nothing. There's some who say he doesn't wash. He just sits, all day..."

How could this be? Oom Hans? The friendliest and most courteous figure between Oshikango and Ariamsvlei (true, the friendliness was for whites, but he was certainly courteous to the blacks as well, mense ofte nie).

"Ja. His son was killed. In the war. A few years ago. He's been strange ever since."

Speechless and damp-eyed, I realised that I had read at the time of Oom Hans' son's death. But it had meant nothing. Just another statistic. Another couple of centimetres of newprint with another South West casualty story. We've gotten so used to that stuff you can read it without even seeing it.

Now, only, did its meaning become real.

How many other shattered fathers? How many still to come? Are there fathers in Owambo too who are driven insane by their sons' deaths? How many more sons, never to become fathers themselves?

Who needs this damfool war?

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**R**HETORIC aside, that is a very good question. Who *does* need the war?

It's an extra odd war anyway. Both sides are fighting for exactly the same thing, or so they say. Independence in a free, democratic non-racial society.

That in itself represents quite an irony.

After all, less than ten years ago the mere breath of independence was considered practically treasonable. Nearly all adult South Africans, and South-Westers, were brought up in an environment where South West was officially and unquestioningly considered "ours". Our fifth province, in effect, and the claims of the United Nations and the judgements of the world court were dismissed with fury and indignation. Then, suddenly, all that was turned on its head. South Africa's desperation to rid itself of its vexed annexe became second only to its desperation to avoid a SWAPO government as its neighbour.

Initially, the hysteria about SWAPO was mainly because it represented an exact counterpoint to the whites' definition of their own interests. No constitutional safeguards. No special privileges for whites. SWAPO, like ZANU, meant black man's country. And in SWA, as in Rhodesia, the whites initially swore that they would keep the power forever, and subsequently found themselves instead making frantic efforts to promote the kind of black government which would leave them with more power than their numbers alone assigned them.

**T**hat basic fear of SWAPO as the party of the black man is still there. But in the meantime a number of things have happened. For one, the South African government has painted itself into a corner. It has so assiduously portrayed SWAPO as the next thing to the anti-Christ that it is now impossible for it to allow SWAPO into government — or to risk having it voted into power.

Instead, it is obliged to keep waging this costly and damaging war — which chews up something in the vicinity of R1 000 000 000 a year — towards an end which seems unprofitable, to say the least. Despite its military power, the SADF's prospects of actually putting an end to SWAPO are clearly no greater than were the Americans' prospects of putting an end to the Vietcong. To many South-Westerns, even those who enthusiastically support the anti-SWAPO campaign, it is difficult to see any longterm end result other than the Army finally quitting. Which is necessarily an admission that all those lives and all that expense were in vain. And the longer it goes on, the more militaristic and presumably totalitarian as well SWAPO becomes, and the

less the prospect of an effective shared government.

Something else which has changed is the attitude of the whites. True, by and large the whites remain about as far Right as it is possible to get without falling off the edge of the spectrum. But now that the prospect of majority rule is an immediate reality and no longer a distant threat which a lot of tough talk can still claim to be able to stave off forever (as applied five years ago and still does in South Africa) the perspective alters somewhat.

As André du Toit has put it: "The thought that they themselves as Afrikaners may have yet to live with black majority rule is a thought that powerfully concentrates the Afrikaner mind". But whereas in South Africa it is only the young, and thus powerless, who feel the need to suffer that concentration, in SWA it applies to everyone.

The result is that the whole frame of reference — the whole political vocabulary — is thoroughly different to South Africa's. Okay, you do still hear plenty of people thumping tables and promising to beat the daylights out of the kaffirs. But you also hear people saying — openly, without shame and without eliciting horror or outrage — such things as that the war is really South Africa's war and why don't they get out of Namibia, or that maybe socialism can be lived with after all.

The question of international recognition is a much greater factor in the minds of many whites than South Africans tend to assume. We, unaffected by the issue, take it that recognition is a matter for

governments, and really doesn't have much to do with the people. But time and again white South-Westerners say — again, openly — that they want to be able to hold their heads up as citizens of an accepted nation. Under a SWAPO government? "Well, if that's the way it's got to be . . ." Already the white population has dropped drastically over the last few years, and at 70 000 is less by some 35 000 than a 1970 census projected it would be by now. Most of the departed consist of returning South African civil servants (who have largely been replaced by blacks). Opinions differ as to what sort of exodus there would be were SWAPO to take over now, but many believe that it would be low. Certainly, the refrain: "We'll wait around, and see how it goes. . ." crops up regularly.

SWA is often said to be depressed and demoralised, and white morale is said to be low. It doesn't strike this observer that way. Rather than depression, the hallmark is confusion.

An enormous amount depends on Zimbabwe. As one astute observer of the SWA scene notes: "The mood here goes up and down like a yo-yo, in exact proportion to news from Zimbabwe. You'll hear people saying 'Ag man it's not that bad in Zimbabwe'. People have friends and relatives there and they hear that it's livable and life goes on. Then there's some new disaster there and everybody says: 'See, see what happens when you have a black government'".

Sounds familiar. An independent Namibia will play the same role for us in SA.

CSO: 3400/1444



'WINDHOEK OBSERVER' LISTS DOCUMENTS SEIZED FROM GWEN LISTER

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 7 May 83 p 10

[Text]

WINDHOEK: Many people are talking in Windhoek at present about the confiscation of documents from Gwen Lister on her arrival back from Paris last weekend. Naturally the inclination is to say "Well, she must have had something subversive in her possession"! So for the benefit of these people, we are listing the documents and booklets confiscated in the terms of the Criminal Procedure Act of 1977.

They are as follows:

1x booklet "Namibia - Strength of the Powerless" (a booklet taken overseas by Gwen - she received it through the post two years ago!)

1x booklet "Plunder of Namibian Uranium". (in UN brochure)

1x booklet UN Council for Namibia - Meetings in Panama City

1x booklet Namibia's Stolen Wealth. (in UN brochure)

1x booklet "Trade Union Action on Namibian Uranium".

1x booklet "Apartheid's Army in Namibia (also a booklet received in through the post in Windhoek and taken abroad by Gwen).

1x booklet A Trust Betrayed - Namibia

1x UN Council for Namibia - Meeting in Algiers Algeria (in UN brochure).

1x sheet "UN International Conference ... Paris 25 - 29 April 1983"

1x statement by the Synod of Bishops (released in Namibia itself)

1x statement issued by World Campaign

1x Objective: Justice (in UN brochure)

1x sheet with PAC emblem

1x UN Info Service - International Conference on Namibia

1x UN Info Service - International Conference on Namibia

2x Episcopal Churchman for SA

1x AFP interview with Sam Nujoma

2x PAC - The PACs

2x UN background release

1x Folder UN

4x handwritten pages (Gwen's rough notes)

1x SWAPO press release

1x World Campaign - Marconi Radar to be exported (story in all SA newspapers)

1x press statement by Sam Nujoma

1x Bonn's Policy on Southern Africa

1x Southern Wisconsin draft resolution

1x Episcopal Churchman - fact sheet

1x Oil Tankers of SA

1x Poster of Sam Nujoma (also in UN booklet)

1x Pamphlet UN International Conference (in UN brochure)

1x UN Decree No 1 (in UN brochure)

1x Repression and Human Rights in Namibia (in UN brochure)

1x list of journalists participating in encounter

1x encounter for journalists

1x 4 sheets photocopied, starting from page 4

1x UN Council for Namibia Pamphlet (in UN brochure)

2x SWAPO Political Program (also in UN brochure)

1x Provisional list of Participants and Observers in conference

1x statement by Paul Lusakaka (delivered at the conference)

1x speech by Paulo G. Jorge (Angolan Foreign Minister speech at conference)

1x statement by President of SWAPO (at press conference in Paris)

1x speech by Nujoma, issued by Episcopal Churchman

1x Report of Bristol Commission of Inquiry

1x memo to all friends of Namibia

1x Namibia - Back to Basic Principles

1x Pamphlet - The Grand Design

1x Barclays Shadow Report

1x press release

1x 33 typed pages - (also on minerals)

3x typed pages (copies of my stories sent from Paris)

CSO: 3400/1443

# TRIP THROUGH OVAMBOLAND DESCRIBED

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English May 83 pp 34-37

[Excerpt from part one of two-part series by Denis Beckett: "Namibia, the Tragedy Behind the Land of Comic Opera"]

[Text]

**T**HE drive north from Tsumeb is different now. Ten years ago, I did it regularly, driving a 20-ton railway truck. We'd leave at midnight and occasionally — especially after rain — have to nudge elephants off the road. Aah! That made you know you were in Africa!

There are no elephants now. And the birds — they breed them big up there, huge majestic monsters of the hawk and eagle families — have thinned out an awful lot. There are still the kudu, though. From the cab of a 20-tonner these were just another of the rewards of Africa. But driving at night in a dinky Datsun the perspective is different. Kudu become bewildered by headlights, and are apt to run for them, like rabbits, sometimes jumping right into them. In which case the bells will shortly toll for whoever had been in the front seat.

Another change is the permit system. Then, civilian visitors to Owambo would spend days or weeks in acquiring permits; all sealed, checked, countersigned and hedged about with provisos. One of these was that the permit could be withdrawn at any time without reasons being given. Others included stipulations that white permit-holders would dress with decorum, would refrain from communicating with the local population, and would not commit any acts which would reduce respect for the white race.

Nowadays, you sommer go.

The Owambo border is still marked by the high fences of the "Stock Disease Control Point". And now, not a long way further, there is a second, explicitly military, control point. But this is a flimsy

formality in comparison with the vast documentation which was required before.

Name, car number, address — that's about all.

The road itself is much the same. "You've got to grant the South Africans that they make the best roads in Africa," says one of our party, a black man recently returned from years of exile: "Aaii! Those Zambian roads. . ." he shakes his head ruefully.

What has changed, drastically, is the occupancy of the road. Then, the traffic was sparse. Occasional trucks, a few whites, mainly officials or reps, in cars, and even fewer blacks in cars — these latter causing huge offence to my SAR co-driver, who had a beat-up old heap himself and treated the sight of any black man in a smarter vehicle as a demonstration that the natural order of things had gone awry.

Now, it's more common to see locals — locpops, the Army calls them in its politer moods, from "local population", or PBs in Afrikaans, from "plaaslike bevolking" — driving their own SBA-registered cars. In fact, there's plenty of evidence of the famous "Ovambo millionaires", traders and franchise-holders who've made good. Around Owambo the proportion of Mercedes to other cars must be one of the highest in the world.

**B**ut the main difference is the military presence. Which is everywhere. One can live an entire lifetime in South Africa and never, even cumulatively, lay eyes upon

as many South African military vehicles as it is possible to see at one time on the Ondangwa road. Huge columns of awesome khaki weapons of war rumble to and fro ceaselessly. Sandbags, fortifications, watchtowers and mounted anti-aircraft cannon are the signs of the times.

I was soon disabused of one misconception. By going to Oshakati, I had thought, we would be seeing Owambo. Not so. Oshakati and Ondangwa are fortified towns — safe areas. The war doesn't happen there, except for the inevitable spin-offs which occur when guns, grenades, bombs and hostility are all present in abundance.

Swapo once dropped a few missiles on Oshakati — which is now walled, fenced and barricaded like a feudal keep — and odd unexplained explosions and other accidents keep happening. But for the most part Oshakati is no more representative of Owambo than, say, Saigon was representative of Vietnam. The action is elsewhere, and Oshakati is a home for those who've been displaced by that action.

There are two ways of looking at Oshakati. For the whites, it consists of the fortified town. For the blacks, it is eight or so separate complexes — one of these being the white part and the other seven being what were once relatively settled black villages and are now overcrowded squatter camps. Nobody knows how many refugees have flooded to Oshakati to escape the war, but what is easy to see is that it is far too many.

The squatter camps are large rambling collections of corrugated iron shanties with occasional communal taps dotted about at remote intervals. Pit lavatories are not unknown, but for the most part hygiene is non-existent. Beer cans and waste, human and otherwise, are scattered everywhere. Huge puddles of brack, stinking, water abound. Hardly anybody apart from the bottle store proprietors and the cuca-shop owners have any visible means of support. In the circumstances it seems slightly inexplicable that the people give every appearance of passing livable lives.

**H**ow the cuca-shops survive is a mystery in itself. The cuca-shops — along with the army and the mountainous ant-hills — are one of the central features of Owambo. Every fourth or fifth hut is a cuca-shop — almost always marked by a coca-cola placard alongside its door. Coke

signs are even more common in Owambo than are fatherless children or women in black.

So how can so many survive? Or do they all buy from each other? Maybe — they all stock different wares. Beer and muscadell and coke are to be found in all, but thereafter it's a matter of catch-as-catch-can. The rough undulating shelves in one shop might stock shoe polish, skin-lightener and batteries. Its neighbour might be the place to go for wigs or brasso. Quite how your average Owambo housewife manages to distinguish haberdasher from greengrocer is a local secret. But it all seems to work, and it certainly works amiably.

Most of the bigger shops have names — usually in English and usually unmistakably third-world. Melody Store. Joy Store. Happy Store. One, with barely as much as a hoenderhok within 500 yards in any direction, is called "City Centre Furnishers".

Another, near Ondangwa, is "Sorry". The name is written on every wall and several times, large, around the front facade. The clear impression is that the owner is *very* apologetic. We are told the story behind the Sorry: the owner was previously the manager of someone else's shop. He told the police that his boss was a Swapo collaborator, and while his boss spent the ensuing 18 months in detention he creamed the profits off into his own pocket. All is now forgiven, apparently, and a happy co-existence prevails.

Forgiveness is not always quite so easy to come by. As we drive around Owambo our loctop guides point out houses of ill fortune with startling frequency. "The man from that house was shot dead. . .", "the man from that shop was killed by a bomb. . .".

Violence is a way of life. In addition there are some places in Owambo which are remarkably accident-prone. One of these is the printing press at the headquarters of ELOC, the Evangelical Lutheran OvamboKavango Church. A few months ago a stray shell happened to drop through the roof, but did not explode. ELOC advised the army that it seemed to have left some of its property on their premises. The army apologised profusely, begging ELOC's pardon for such an unfortunate accident. ELOC might have found the apologies more convincing had it not been that the printing press has already twice been demolished by unidentified armed attackers.

The official line, on those two occasions, was that the attacks were perpetrated by Swapo. This, doubtless, did its bit to build up the South African electorate's mental picture of Swapo as a devil-sent collection of psychopathic criminals. But it does not cut much ice in Owambo, where ELOC stands in relation to SWAPO not all that differently from the way that the NGK stands in relation to the S.A. government.

In another accident, in April last year, an ELOC mission was bombed. The SADF duly apologised, and promised to pay out R30 000 damages. More recently a policeman accidentally fired a mortar into an Owambo school, killing a school-girl and injuring ten others.

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**A**PART from simply seeing what this vexed province of Owambo looked like, my main purpose was to try to conduct some sort of ground level straw poll; to try to gauge where the people stood.

Three different types of input were prominent in my mind. Firstly, the official line, which says in effect that our boys on the border are honourably protecting the peaceable citizens of Owambo from the evils and atrocities of Swapo. Secondly, the fashionable opposite to that theory, which asserts that Swapo is "the people's movement", with universal support. Thirdly, the observation, common among whites whether liberal or conservative, that the rural Ovambos are sublimely ignorant of social and political issues, with the implication that whatever their attitudes may be, doesn't really matter, since they don't know enough to have any possibility of being right.

This last factor was the most troublesome. If you believe in democracy, as I do, you necessarily believe that every adult has the same right as every other adult to a say over the rules according to which his life is to be conducted. Yet if it was true, as so often claimed, that here there was practically no concept of anything beyond the immediate confines of the village or district, that hardly anyone had any concept of Owambo as an entity, let alone of Namibia as an entity, let alone of democracy, liberty or progress. . . I wondered whether democracy could make sense in those circumstances.

The first truth to be driven home to me was that to speak of Swapo as a feared gang of criminals, driving terror

into the hearts of the population, was simply laughable. Everywhere we went, everyone we spoke to, was nothing other than mystified by my persistent questioning as to whether they feared Swapo. Finally I realised that to talk of Swapo as the enemy simply made no sense. No more sense than it would make to ask, say, the white householders of Groblersdal or Pretoria whether they looked upon the SA government as the enemy. They may of course not agree with the policies of the government. But the idea of the government as enemy would be wholly incomprehensible. Thus it was with Swapo in Owambo.

**B**y the same token, it made no sense to talk of the army as protector. The army is the thing the people fear. I'd ask about Swapo atrocities, and people would shrug their shoulders and say dismissively that Swapo ("the Plans" they usually said, meaning members of Swapo's force, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia) had killed informers. I'd ask about the army and they'd launch into tirades.

I was thoroughly unimpressed with the lack of concern displayed over the murder of "informers", I might say.

Insofar as people did support Swapo, I also wanted to know, *why* did they do so? Because it's socialist? Because it's nationalist? Because it's essentially Ovambo? Because they'd support anything which was against the army?

I was prepared for a multiplicity of answers. What I was not prepared for was what I got, which was to discover that the questions simply weren't valid. We were on utterly different wavelengths. The so-called politically aware mind, adjusted to assess proportions of loyalty and reasons for it, makes about as much sense as an attempt to count the angels on the head of a pin would make in a physics laboratory.

"Yes," runs a typical exchange, "we like Mr Nujoma." "What about the DTA?" "Yes we like Mr Mudge too." "And what about the CDA?" "Yes we like Mr Kalangula too." And so it goes on. Whereas in white SA, if a man is a Nat, say, then he's not a Prog and not a Herstigte either, here one sees nothing inconsistent with being for everyone at one and the same time. The idea of one outfit being right and the rest therefore wrong simply doesn't apply.

At face value that might be seen as a

demonstration of this proverbial Ovambo ignorance. It didn't strike me that way, though. Rather as a sensible pragmatic approach. And it struck me that it had taken a trip to this remote corner of Southern Africa to learn something fundamental about politics as a whole. Namely, that it is all much more multi-dimensional than we tend to think. Isn't it after all pretty simple-minded to assume that anyone's entire set of attitudes can be summed up under the heading of the Party he professes to support?

The Owambo trip also did a lot to settle my concerns about democracy and ignorance. At one point, while we were sitting on the ground outside a cuca-shop drinking warm beer and listening to a group of women describing how their sons had been detained, it struck me strongly that the relationship between learning and humanity is truly a distant one. What did it matter that these women knew nothing about the balance of payments or constitutional systems? For the people who were showing us around, in particular, I acquired tremendous respect — and plenty of admiration for some of the customs we saw, such as the outstanding hospitality. I ended up quite hot under the collar at the thought that anyone could reasonably claim that these people had less right than anyone else to involve themselves in the running of their society.

[Boxed Item]

#### Dots on the Map

**N**EVER have so few fought so bitterly for so much. Namibia has the second lowest population density of any country in the world (narrowly beaten by Outer Mongolia.)

It is almost exactly the same size as France, West Germany and Belgium combined. Yet its total population — 1,1 million — is considerably smaller than the population of Soweto. And the area of Soweto, in turn, is about the same as four or five of the larger suburbs of northern Johannesburg combined.

The sparcity sparks its own set of indigenous Namibian jokes. Looking at a map of the territory, fairly well spattered with dots and place-names, a stranger remarks that there seem to be lots of small towns. "Those aren't towns", scoffs a seasoned Namibian. "If there's a small dot it means there's a cuca-shop. If there's a bigger dot it means there's a cuca-shop with a gas fridge. And if there's a very big dot it means there's a cuca-shop with a gas fridge that works."

CSO: 3400/1444

## NAMIBIA

### BRIEFS

THREE BY-ELECTIONS--Windhoek.--The three main White parties in SWA/Namibia--the National Party of SWA, the Republican Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party--nominated candidates yesterday for the June 22 by-elections for vacancies in three seats for the White Legislative Assembly. All three seats--Pionierspark, Windhoek West and Grootfontein--were previously held by the National Party of SWA. The vacancies arose from two of the members of the White Legislative Assembly leaving for South Africa and the death of the third, Mr Adolf Brinkman, the representative for Grootfontein, who was also Deputy Leader of the NP of SWA. The Republican Party, the white component in the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, protested strongly to the Administrator-General, Dr Willie van Niekerk, about the state of the voters' roll. It threatened not to take part in the election, as it charged that many of the voters on the list were Government officials who had since moved to South Africa. But Dr van Niekerk said in a statement yesterday only bona fide registered voters would be allowed to take part in the elections. The candidates for Pionierspark are: Mr Victor Verster (NP), Mr Stolla Botha (RP) and Mr Willie Krugel (HNP). The candidates for Windhoek West: Mr Frans van Zyl (NP), Mr Stefaans Malan (RP) and Mr Sarel Becker (HNP). The candidates for Grootfontein: Mr Chris Liebenberg (NP), Mr Hans Ernst (RP) and Mr Danie Harmse (HNP). [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 May 83 p 11]

CSO: 3400/1432

# FURTHER REPORTAGE ON VIOLENCE IN KANO

## Political Clash

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 5 Apr 83 pp 1, 13

[Article by Abdulhamid Babatunde]

[Text] MOBILE police units in Kano were yesterday put on the alert in the wake of fresh political violence between rival factions of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) in the state capital.

The violence began yesterday afternoon as bus-loads of people alleged to be supporters of the Maude-faction of the party went into town chanting slogans and brandishing dangerous weapons.

By about 2 p.m., the office of the party's governorship candidate in the state, Alhaji Aminu Bashir Wali had been attacked by the people who smashed window panes and

tore posters. At least one person was confirmed injured at the office.

There were also reports of sporadic clashes between the two factions in various parts of the state capital including the residence of the Minister of Commerce, Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf at Tarauni and the party headquarters along Airport Road.

Meanwhile, mobile policemen have stepped up patrols in the state capital while a portion of Post Office Road where the office of the governorship candidate is situated and parts of Ibrahim Taiwo Road where Alhaji Muhammadu

Maude, the state's Special Presidential Assistant, has a private office were sealed off by the police.

As at the time of this report, it was understood that an emergency meeting between officials of the two factions of the party was being held at the Ibrahim Taiwo Road office of Alhaji Maude but Alhaji Aminu Wali, was said to have left Kano yesterday morning for Gaya on a political campaign tour.

There were no reliable details on casualties or arrest because there was no one to speak on the issue at the police headquarters as a result of the public holiday.

## NPN Supporters Arrested

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 6 Apr 83 pp 1, 13

[Article by Abdulhamid Babatunde]

[Text] ABOUT 41 supporters of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), in Kano have been arrested in connection with last Monday's clash between supporters of Alhaji Aminu Wali, the governorship candidate and those of Alhaji Muhammadu Maude, the Special Assistant to the President.

A police source who gave this figure explained that the arrests were made from the various scenes of the clashes and that investigations were still going on to identify those actually involved.

At the various scenes of the clashes, six vehicles were seen smashed while the private office of Alhaji Muhammadu Maude

along Ibrahim Taiwo Road was also attacked.

Both Alhaji Aminu and Alhaji Maude along with some other party officials were yesterday invited to the state police headquarters and held a meeting with the Commissioner of Police for Kano State, Alhaji Sani Wali.

Also yesterday, the governorship candidate of the NPN in

Kaduna State, Alhaji Lawal Kaita was in Kano and told newsmen that he had held discussions with both Alhaji Aminu and Alhaji Maude with a view to evolving a permanent solution to the problem.

He was of the view that last Monday's clash was the work of a "small clique" in Kano.

At an interview, Alhaji Aminu the governorship candidate traced the root of the problems in the party in the state to the primary

elections held late last year for governorship nomination.

He said it was human for those who lost to feel embittered but pointed out that a gentleman's agreement was reached soon after the nomination congress to pave way for co-operation between the two sides.

Alhaji Aminu expressed disappointment with the deterioration of the situation and urged all party supporters in the state to put the interest of the party above personalities. He said Mon-

day's clash was preceded by an attack on the state secretariat of the party during which the principal organiser of the party was beaten up by disgruntled elements.

He stressed that he had all along been appealing for unity and co-operation and remarked that "we shall not sit back and allow people to destroy the party".

Meanwhile, calm has returned to the areas affected and the cordon put up by the police have been removed.

CSO: 3400/1409



CORRUPTION INCIDENTS DETAILED FOR 5-YEAR PERIOD

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 14 Apr 83 pp 1, 13

[Article by Tawey Zakka]

[Text] **ABOUT 96 million Naira was received as kick-backs and bribes on 322 government contracts worth 4.6 billion Naira between 1978 and 1982, a social science lecturer at the University of Benin, Dr. Festus Iyayi, claimed in Zaria yesterday.**

**Presenting a paper titled "Corruption as a Method of Primitive Accumulations: Cost and Implications" at the current National Seminar on "Corruption and Indiscipline," Dr. Iyayi said that he got his figures from a "detailed" examination of newspaper reports of bribes, frauds, kick-backs and extravagant expenditure from 1978 to 1982.**

He noted, however, that his figures were highly conservative as they excluded "a large number of cases that usually are not reported."

Dr. Iyayi said the discoveries, in any case, showed the extent to which official corruption had grown in this country.

He thought that the emerging local capitalist ruling class saw corruption as the sole means of accumulating monetary capital, having been crippled from birth by European imperialism, which ensured control of economic powers by expatriates even after independence.

The Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Act (1972) which was meant to wrest ownership of the means of production, distribution

and exchange from foreigners had, according to him, not succeeded because foreigners still controlled the necessary monetary capital.

Faced with these difficulties, Dr. Iyayi explained, corruption increasingly became the major source of accumulating that capital which the local capitalist class lacked.

According to him, corruption thrived within the ruling class because it had access to all sources of public funds, such as taxes and profits from the exploitation of economic resources.

Another participant, Mr. Tony Edoh, in his paper "The Effects of Indiscipline and Corruption on the Effective and Efficient Functioning of the Civil Service," suggested a separate code of conduct for the civil service, to give it an image and character of its own.

GONGOLA SCHOOLS CLOSE, SEND 500,000 CHILDREN HOME

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 5 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by Abu Tapidi]

[Text] **A TOTAL of 563,554 children in primary and post-primary institutions in Gongola State have been sent home as a result of the deteriorating financial position of the state government.**

**Breakdown showed that 486,943 were from primary schools, 58,878 from secondary schools, 16,005 from teacher's colleges and 1,728 from vocational training centres.**

An investigation by the New Nigerian revealed that the state government was now owing various contractors who supplied food to post-primary institutions more than five million Naira.

Most of the primary school teachers have also not been paid their salaries for periods ranging from three to six months.

Primary schools in the state were closed down since September, last year, following a strike action by the state branch of the Nigeria Union of Teachers

(NUT) to back up its demand for payment of all outstanding salaries, fringe benefits and leave grants to teachers.

Although the third-term holiday was planned to begin on March 25 and end on April 25, this year, the government has extended it to May 31 tentatively in order to settle the debt owed to the food contractors and to enable it enter into a new agreement.

However, all final-year students are expected to resume on April 25, because they are scheduled to start writing their

final examinations within two weeks of resumption.

A letter from the state's Ministry of Education, copied to all principals, secretaries to local governments and all divisional inspectors of education directed all principals to make sure that all students knew the change in the resumption date for the third term.

The investigation also showed that 33,210 out of 58,878 enrolments into the secondary schools and 3,013 out of 16,005 in teacher's colleges as well as all the students of the 17 vocational training centres are day students.

Registration into form one in the various schools started in January and lasted up to February, this year contrary to September as stipulated in the school calendar.

A similar letter to parents also requested them to provide their children with certain items without which they would not be registered for the term.

These included aluminium plates, exercise books, maths set, school uniforms, recommended textbooks for English, maths, social studies, integrated science, transport money, detergent, toilet paper, school fees and other basic requirements.

The state's Commissioner for Education, Mr. Dauda Kefas Zing said the government "decided to extend the holiday period to May 31 to enable us settle about five million Naira debt to food contractors in the post-primary schools and we hope to prepare adequately for their feeding before recalling the students".

CSO: 3400/1409

OPPOSITION REPORTEDLY OPTING FOR STRATEGY OF TENSION

Dakar AFRICA in French No 150, Apr 83 pp 31-32

[Article by Ibrahima Signate: "What Is the Opposition Going to Do?"]

[Text] More than a month after legislative and presidential elections that produced a very broad victory for the Socialist Party, which is in government, there is still a certain effervescence to be noted within the Senegalese opposition, which remains under shock from the overwhelming score run up by the majority formation. Thus, the political climate is still charged with electricity. Quite obviously, as regards the opposition, it is a time for displaying resentment and not for unwinding.

One will get an idea of the atmosphere that prevailed through a few excerpts from position statements that have followed one another since 27 February. The Senegalese Democratic Party, in a declaration from its political bureau, rejects "totally and definitively the results of the so-called elections of 27 February and considers that the Socialist Party has perpetrated a civil electoral coup d'etat, and thus considers legitimate any form of peaceful protest against the confiscation of power effected by the PS [Socialist Party] and its government...and calls for new elections, free and democratic, under neutral control."

In the view of the Democratic League-Movement for the Labor Party, "the official results of the balloting reflect the opposite of the political reality of the country and create a situation fraught with dangers. The institutions coming out of the election frauds cannot claim any credible legitimate authority ...." For the Party for Independence and Labor (PIT), "the elections were held in an intolerable context of moral violence which was prevented only by the political maturity of the opposition and of the citizens from degenerating into serious confrontations.

United against the Government

Speaking, for its part, of electoral gangsterism, the People's Democratic Movement (MDP) of former council president Mamadou Dia "commits all its militants to consider themselves mobilized more than in the past for the political and social battles called for by the situation born of the violation of democracy."

In a statement, the cadre for unity of anti-imperialist electoral action, which groups the parties that supported the candidacy of Mamadou Dia for the presidency, denounces the "electoral masquerade" and asserts that "the frauds were so massive that they appeared in the eyes of everyone as a provocation aimed simply at provoking bloody events so as to use them as a pretext for antidemocratic measures."

The disappointments born of the mediocre election results, or frankly bad ones in certain cases, have caused as an aftereffect, within the opposition, a reflex of union around a rejection of the results and of a desire to give the government a hard time by harassment maneuvers on the social and political level. Incapable of coming to an agreement on a single candidacy at the time of the presidential elections, 11 opposition parties (with necessity doubtlessly ruling) have now decided to unite their efforts in contesting the legitimacy of the government issuing from the 27 February election--on the initiative of the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party], whose leader, attorney Abdoulaye Wade, seems to want to run the show.

#### A Parallel Government?

One of the things the coalition has done is to issue a long joint declaration that calls for "radicalization of the social and political struggles against the neocolonialist regime in place and the trade-unionists in its service, so as to put an end to the exploitation of the popular masses." Also two meetings in a public square in Dakar, with many people in attendance and under the vigilant regard of the forces of order in combat uniform and ready to take action upon the least disorder. The first was held on 7 March, and the second on 19 March. These meetings--long sessions of collective release--make it possible, by what was said at them, to form a more precise idea of the intentions of the opposition and of its state of mind, thanks to the unbridled eloquence that characterizes this kind of gathering.

On 19 March, Mr Wade, who since 27 February has shown a certain state of excitement (which was already known in him, though to a lesser degree, just after the surprise surrender of power by Senghor), revived an idea that he had previously expressed: i.e., the setting-up of a parallel government, or shadow government, on the model, in a way, of what is done in Great Britain. In the mind of its promoter, this government would go so far as to dispatch one of its members wherever a member of the Abdou Diouf government was going on a mission abroad, for the purpose of countering its action by challenging its legitimacy.

So far, the proposal for a countergovernment does not appear to have attracted any perceptible support in the ranks of the other political formations. Mr Wade has further suggested that 3 April, the date on which President Abdou Diouf took his oath of office, should be considered a "day of national mourning" and that the 23rd anniversary of independence should be boycotted. The first "Mawdo," Mamadou Dia, always equal to himself, let himself go on to say, on the same occasion: "We do not know Abdou Diouf; let us not recognize him and let us have no ties with him."

## Toward Destabilization?

There has also been the inevitable blustering. Thus, Mahjmout Diop, of the African Independence Party (PAI)--which in the elections garnered the eloquent number of 5,146 votes--proclaimed: "Let us choose someone from among ourselves to lead; the others will follow, and we shall overthrow those who are presently in power!"

Thus also, Mbaye Bathily, of the Socialist Organization of Workers (a small, obscure Trotskyist group), wrote: "Abdou Diouf should not take the oath of office!"

The fact is that all this agitation creates an unwholesome political climate, nourished by increasingly wild rumors.

Fantasies and caprices have free rein. Some people are led too readily to take their secret desires for realities of the moment. Thus, psychoanalysis should fly to the aid of political science to help try to understand certain attitudes. The fact is that the results of 27 February have made certain politicians neurotic. Let us only hope that they will not end up going mad.

Meanwhile, it is all as if the opposition had opted, at least implicitly, for a strategy of tension--though it has trouble formulating clearly the nature of the concrete actions that it envisions taking. Furthermore, the second unitary meeting that it held was only a repetition of the first one. But things could change in the future.

The truth is that the opposition finds itself at a crossroads, facing the following alternative: either to accept, reluctantly, the verdict of the ballot boxes and consequently prepare better for future political and electoral battles, or try to "destabilize" the regime by constant political and social agitation. For the time being, in any case, the climate is not one of appeasement, and it is thus the latter alternative that seems to find favor among the opposition. Although a few splits, in this regard, have appeared within it. Professor Sheikh Anta Diop's Democratic National Rally (RND), for example, has clearly let it be understood that it "will associate itself only with legal, logical, realistic and well-thought-out actions." In addition, it has been noted with a certain surprise that the Party for Independence and Labor (Marxist-Leninist) is ostensibly cool toward all of the opposition's joint manifestations.

Are the strikes which at this moment are affecting certain secondary-education establishments and a part of the university the precursor signs of a calculated rupture of the social consensus that has prevailed in the 2 years that President Abdou Diouf has been exercising power? The question may indeed be asked in the light of the threats brandished by the opposition.

## The Reserve of the SUDES

In the Faculty of Science, after a strike of more than 1 month and despite the broad concessions granted by the minister of higher education, the strike was first renewed on 19 March and then finally suspended. The students are still

running the risk of not being in a position to pass their year-end examinations. The lycees of Dakar, Saint-Louis and Thies have experienced--and some of them are still experiencing--various movements in favor of demands that may start up again at any moment, taking on a political coloration. The SUDES (Sole Democratic Trade Union of Teachers of Senegal), which groups most of Senegals' teachers, from primary to higher education, could be tempted to abandon the reserve in which it has confined itself since the assembly that was held in 1981 and in which it played a leading role. It is sparked by militants of the opposition. It is quite obvious that a social explosion animated by the difficulties that all the Senegalese are experiencing in their daily lives, as a result of the economic crisis, would fit in perfectly with the opposition's designs. Indeed, all its action is founded on this calculation, so that in the contest of strength that the opposition wants to impose on the government, it is on the economic and social level that everything will be staked in the last analysis.

#### Abdou's Trump Cards

If the economic and social climate deteriorates further, it goes without saying that the opposition will find it a preferred resource for accentuating its harassment and making trouble for the government. Whence the interest, for President Abdou Diouf, of striking a heavy blow at the start in the area of economic recovery, with a view to improving, within a reasonable time, the living conditions of his compatriots, who for the moment are "rather sticking out their tongues." Generally speaking, the Senegalese president does not lack trump cards in the face of the opposition's big maneuvers. In the eyes of the vast majority of the Senegalese, he incarnates legitimacy. He does also in the eyes of international opinion. The verdict of the Supreme Court, relating to both the presidential and legislative elections, leaves no doubt on this subject. Abdou Diouf is consequently in a position, should the need arise, to make his legitimacy respected with all the vigor required.

On the social front, he is in a position, on the whole, to control the situation through the action of the National Confederation of Senegalese Workers (CNTS), which is allied with the Socialist Party and is easily the country's No 1 trade-union organization. The arrival in office of a new leadership, called the "renewal" leadership, directed by Madia Diop, an outstanding trade-unionist held in high regard by the workers, has given it a second wind and a considerable revival of influence. Sectorial strikes decided on by the opposition unions may get more or less support, but a general strike on the national scale of such a nature as to shake the political structure is not within the power of the opposition. The relationship of forces rules out that possibility. Thus the pathway is a narrow one for this opposition, which, furthermore, for the sake of its own political survival, does not want to set itself up deliberately as a troublemaker that public opinion could point its finger at.

In this order of ideas, consolidation of the fragile Senegalese democratic edifice requires that the opposition not reject President Abdou Diouf's outstretched hand. Politically too, it would not pay. But can reason hold sway where waves of passion are still breaking? Perhaps it would thus be a good idea to let time--and the president--work things out.

## MAHE LAND REGISTRATION PROJECT PLANNED

Victoria NATION in English 23 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Text]

**A HUGE Land Registration Project** that is expected to cover the whole of Mahé over the next four years will be launched on Monday in a major exercise that should facilitate the demarcation of boundaries, land administration and the allocation of land for development.

The project, financed jointly by the Seychellois and British Governments, will complete the Land Register of all property on Mahé. Since 1965, when the Register was set up under the Land Registration of Title Act, nearly 4,000 parcels (pieces) of land have been officially recorded.

Starting in Takamaka, South Mahé, on Monday, a special team will identify and systematically survey the nearly 6,000 remaining parcels of land for most of which there is not an approved survey.

At the same time, evidence will be collected to enable

ownership and other interests not yet on the Land Register to be recorded.

Seychelles' contribution to the project will be R 4.15 million, paying for all the administrative expenses and the salaries of the 15 Seychellois involved. The British Government will contribute R 3.5 million to cover equipment, materials and the salaries of five Britons in the project.

The project team is led by a British surveyor, Mr Douglas Arnott as the Adjudication Officer.

"A Land Register comprising a complete register of ownership and other interests in land, together with an index map of surveyed boundaries will be extremely useful in speeding up land transactions for both agricultural and housing development," Mr David Lebon, the Chief Surveyor told Seychelles Agence Presse.

He added that although the Survey Division was technical-

ly capable of carrying out the exercise, the present staffing level would not permit a speedy registration of the 6,000 parcels on Mahé. It was with this in mind that the project was conceived.

The Register, the Chief Surveyor continued, would show at all times the legal situation of land, a defined boundary of each piece of land, the name and address of the owner and details of any interests affecting the land.

"This will make dealings in land much more secure, faster and cheaper. The Register will help in the public administration of all activities associated with land," Mr Lebon said.

The process starts with the Minister for National Development declaring a certain area as an Adjudication Area by public notice in the *Official Gazette*.

The adjudication area is then divided into sections which are also described and defined in the *Gazette*.

For example, in preparation for Monday, South Mahé has already been declared an adjudication area, including the electoral areas of Takamaka and Baie Lazare and those parts of Anse Louis and Anse Royale south of Les Canelles Road.

In turn, the Takamaka electoral area has been defined as an adjudication section.

### **PUBLIC MEETINGS**

Once a section has been identified, public meetings will be held there to explain the whole process and answer questions.

The meetings in the Takamaka section will be held in the Takamaka School dining hall at 5.30 p.m. on Monday for the lower Quatre Bornes area, at the same time on Wednesday, April 27 for the upper Quatre Bornes area and at 3 p.m. on Saturday April 30 for other land in the section.

Everyone claiming an interest in land in the section that has not yet been recorded on the Land Register will have two months to make his claim. This includes owners, tenants of leases over two years, mortgages, usufructuaries (jouissance) and other interests such as right of way. Anyone in doubt as to whether or not their land has already been registered on the Land Register should check with the Land Registry Office in Victoria.

Claim forms are available free from the Project Office

at the wooden buildings opposite English River School and near the SHDC block-making plant on 5th June Avenue.

But where a section is far from Victoria, a Recording Officer will visit the area to provide forms and assistance.

Claimants will also have to mark and clear their boundary corners in co-operation with their neighbours before the surveyors arrive.

Before the actual field work starts, another notice will inform claimants who are land owners where and when the boundary demarcation and survey will begin.

After the boundaries have been agreed and pointed out to the surveyor, claimants will have to take documents or other evidence of title and interests to the project office so that the recording may be completed. An absolute title will be recorded where there is a good documentary title going back more than 20 years or where ownership has been acquired by prescription in accordance with the Civil Code.

In the case of a dispute over boundaries or ownership or any rights or interests that cannot be solved by mutual agreement, the Adjudication Officer will hold a public inquiry, following civil court procedure if the need arises.

The Survey Division hopes that most of these problems will be resolved between the

people concerned without the need of an official inquiry.

Cases already before the Supreme Court will continue although no new land suits will be allowed in an adjudication section except with the express permission from the Registrar of the Supreme Court.

When all field work in a section is finished and disputes decided, all the adjudication records and survey index maps showing the parcels and their boundaries will be put on display for three months at the project office. This is to allow claimants to make corrections or people with interests to register objections.

### **NO HINDRANCE**

For example, should a person who has already put in his claim as an owner sell his land, he and the new owner will be able to correct the adjudication record as to the ownership of the parcel when the record goes on display.

The objective is to carry this scheme out with the least hindrance to anyone, the Survey Division said.

After the three months, the final land and survey records for the section will be handed over to the Government.

The Land Registrar will compile the registers for each property and the Chief Surveyor will look after the survey records and maintain the property index maps.



Appeals to the Supreme Court questioning any acts or decisions by the Adjudication Officer on points of law or

procedure will be allowed within three months of a section being declared final.

Anyone who wants to know more about the project can visit the project office for explanations.

**SAP**

CSO: 3400/1431

## SEYCHELLES

### BRIEFS

MILITANTS END LEADERSHIP TRAINING--The 109 Pioneers and Young Pioneers who were attending the second leadership training camp at Anse Boileau school over the past week, went home on Saturday morning. The young militants were told by Anse Boileau SPPF Branch Chairman Miss Simone Arnephy, before they broke camp, that the one week programmes were to help them to become true soldiers to safeguard the Seychellois Revolution. She also warned them against the destructive ideas that will exist in the country and repeated the importance of discipline which she said must thrive in a working and responsible nation. Camp leader Marc Didon reminded the Pioneer and Young Pioneer leaders that the society has confidence in the important role the youth of Seychelles have to play in the development of the country. As in other training camps, the Pioneer and Young Pioneer leaders from districts of Mahe, Praslin and La Digue, were grouped into "Solidarity", "Unity" and Vigilance" and had an opportunity to compete against each other in the many activities organised for the training programmes. SAP [Text] [Victoria NATION in English 24 Apr 83 p 10]

CSO: 3400/1431

GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCES NEW RATES FOR FISHING VESSELS

London WEST AFRICA No 3430 in English 9 May 83 p 1148

[Text]

Government has announced new rates of royalty fees for fishing vessels plying Sierra Leone's territorial waters.

Fishing trawlers will pay Le90 per gross registered tonnage, while shrimp vessels will pay Le 150. This represents a 100 per cent increase, and is back dated to January 1, 1983.

Making this announcement at a press conference the Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Abass Bundu who is also Ag. Minister of Natural Resources explained that the increase was nothing spectacular since the new fees were still substantially lower than royalty fees paid in several other West African countries where such fees range between US\$200 and US\$225.

He said to bring the rates charged in Sierra Leone in line with those levied in other countries, government has decided that instead of a 200 per cent increase this year, the increase will be done in two stages, the second phase deemed to come into effect next year.

He said that no illegal fishing will be tolerated in the country's territorial waters after April 13,

and that any vessel caught contravening the rules will face the full penalty of the law.

Dr. Bundu also said that with immediate effect, the Ministry of Natural Resources will give very careful consideration to all applications for renewal and for new fishing licences. Each applicant will be required to produce a certificate of duty paid on total catches landed last year, income tax or company tax, and the gross registered tonnage of the vessel to be licenced. Annual returns of total catches and the amount exported or sold locally together with returns of foreign exchange lodged with the Central or Commercial banks for total catch exported would also be required.

The Minister spoke of government's intention to look into the joint venture agreement of private fishing companies with a view to ensuring that enough fish was available for sale locally. He believed that a high rate of transshipment of fish took place at sea between fishing trawlers and their parent vessels resulting in a huge loss of foreign exchange earnings for the country.

CSO: 3400/1451

POLISH EMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA DEFENDED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 May 83 p 18

[From "Letters to the Editor"]

[Text]

RECENTLY, during a Press conference in Zimbabwe a representative of the Solidarity Movement in the West, Mr J Milewski reportedly stated that he is against the Polish emigration to South Africa since, to quote his reported words:

"Polish emigration to South Africa was tantamount to denial of a livelihood of a Black worker".

It's incredible how badly informed well-meaning people can be, since it is not secret that Poles recruited are each selected for his specific skills and qualifications not readily available in South Africa.

These people, besides doing essential jobs, will increase the training and employment possibilities for all.

We are very grateful to both official Government representatives and private individuals for their help, kindness and understanding of the Polish plight.

Mr Milewski should be primarily concerned with fairness and proper employment, commensurate to the skills acquired by his compatriots in the mother country and, therefore, should be very pleased to hear that the Poles are only employed in well-defined and specific jobs.

Surely from both the Polish and Black workers point of view, it is better for the Poles to advance within their job specifications, contributing to the wellbeing and training of their fellow workers (including, most certainly, the Blacks), than to

stagnate in the refugee camps of Austria and Western Germany, with minimal future of permanent settlement and practice of their trades.

Who better can really assist and explain to the politically inexperienced Black workers of this country what is the genuine path to multiracial co-operation and happy industrial co-existence than the Poles, who most certainly know what a Russian Communist-dominated "Worker's Paradise" is all about!

The Polish emigrants can give their fellow Black workers not only the benefit of their skills, but also protect them from taking a wrong path.

**EYDE VIRION**

**Chairman of Federation  
of Poles in Southern Africa  
Johannesburg**

CSO: 3400/1435

# UNION LEADERS HIT BACK AT RETRENCHMENTS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 9 May 83 p 3

[Article by Mono Badela]

[Text]

**WHILE bosses and the Government say retrenchments are unavoidable during a recession, trade union leaders say companies retrench to maintain huge profits.**

The deepening recession and its resultant retrenchments and high rate of unemployment is leaving in its wake the dreaded spectre of debt, poverty and frustration among countless blacks.

A glaring picture of this was evident when Iscor Steel Industries in Pretoria earlier in the year retrenched more than 40 percent of their 5 000 workers, mostly blacks.

The general secretary of the General and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu), Mr Sidney Mufamandi, said that during recession bosses try to maintain their profit rate and do this at the expense of workers by cutting back their labour costs and dismissing large numbers of workers.

He agrees that retrenchments may occur during an economic crisis but claims that recession always follows a boom period in the economy.

In a boom bosses make very great profits. In fact South Africa had one of its greatest economic booms between 1979 and 1982.

He said bosses could use the high profits made in this period to support workers during the recession.

Instead, he claimed, the workers who made the profits for the company were now put onto the streets.

During recession, inflation increases and workers are faced with a rocketing of prices in household subsistence goods which make their burden even heavier, he said.

He also claimed that bosses use retrenchments to weaken and disorganise worker organisations in the factory by dismissing leaders. The workers who remain behind were overworked because bosses want to maintain a high level of production and because these

workers are also doing the job of the retrenched workers.

Mr Mufamandi said: "One realises that retrenchments are aimed at consolidating the bantustan strategy. Contract workers are hardest hit and forced to go back to the 'homelands' and are subjected to drought and general poverty in the balkanised homelands.

"This forces them to join Government-created institutions like the army," he said.

According to the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu), "these companies did not retrench to stay in business but to maintain huge profits".

Different trade unions have put forward suggestions on how they plan to fight retrenchments.

Some of the alternatives are:

- Managements should give factory committees

or unions long notice of an intended retrenchment and provide full information explaining why it is necessary;

- All overtime must be stopped. The bosses cannot be retrenching workers and still have enough work for overtime. By working short time the number of hours which all workers work may be reduced, so the burden of the lack of work is shared.

If retrenchment is to take place, trade unions suggest the following guidelines:

- "Last in, first out" — workers with the shortest service should be retrenched first. This prevents the bosses from getting rid of older workers who have given long service to the company;

- Workers must receive severance or redundancy pay according to the number of years they have served the company;

MOVE TO ALLEVIATE HOUSING SHORTAGE IN MOHLAKENG REPORTED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 10 May 83 p 2

[Article by Len Maseko]

[Text]

**THE SERIOUS housing shortage in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, will soon be alleviated following Government approval of a R3,6-million housing scheme.**

The project, which has already been approved by the local community council and the West Rand Administration Board (Wrab), involves the building of about 400 houses in the township.

Wrab's director of community services, Mr Steve Burger, said yesterday the surveying of sites in the area had already started and that this process would be completed within the next two weeks.

**LOAN**

"The Department of Co-operation and Development has given us the green light to build the houses. All that is left for us now is to obtain a housing loan from the National Housing Commission, from whom we have asked R3,6-million," Mr Burger said.

The scheme will go a long way towards solving the housing crisis in the area, he added. The last batch of houses in Mohlakeng were built in 1978 and, since the inception of the local community council, no houses have been built in the township.

**SCHEME**

Meanwhile a scheme involving the building of about 800 houses at a cost of R10-million in Dobsonville has been started. The first batch of eight houses, which will serve as showpieces for prospective home buyers, is nearing completion.

Dobsonville Council Chairman Mr B Mashao said yesterday contractors had already started work on the servicing of sites, for which the council had set aside R1-million. In addition, the council has made available 350 sites for development by individuals.

CSO: 3400/1432

WRAB PLANS SHELTER FOR TENT PEOPLE

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 10 May 83 p 2

[Article by Ali Mphaki]

[Text]

**LIVING IN tents and being exposed to the bitter cold of the night will soon be a thing of the past for the about 30 families at Chicken Farm near Kliptown.**

The West Rand Administration Board (Wrab) will erect prefab structures at the farm, the Reverend Cecil Begbie of the Witwatersrand Council of Churches (WCC) said.

Mr Begbie added that an agreement was reached between the WCC and Wrab that no additional tents may be pitched at the farm as Wrab will erect prefab units to house the families.

This move by Wrab, comes after a series of meetings with the WCC over the plight of the families. On Saturday top officials from Wrab and five trucks uprooted 25 tents that were pitched at "Mocha-

neng" by the WCC to house the stranded families whose shacks were demolished by Wrab about three weeks ago, and resettled them at Chicken Farm.

Mr Begbie said yesterday morning they were busy at Wrab's Jabavu offices trying to help some of the families who have not been housed yet. Mr Begbie said although there might be some who do not qualify to be in Johannesburg, they hoped to get in touch with organisations like the Blach Sash and the South African Institute of Race Relations to help them.

He said he was grateful for the role the Press had played in exposing

the plight of these people.

Wrab's chairman Mr John Knotzee said no private organisation will be allowed to pitch tents in the area. He said an "agreement" has been reached between him and the WCC that no additional tents will be pitched and if any organisation had money to house these people, "let them give it to us as we are in a better position to use it by building these people houses instead of tents".

He said the appalling conditions of sleeping in tents as reported in **The SOWETAN** yesterday were a matter of great urgency to Wrab and they were arranging "something" for the families.

SUPREME COURT LIQUIDATES JOHANNESBURG COMPANY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 May 83 p 3

[Text]

A JOHANNESBURG company whose owner is accused of using forged Armscor documentation to secure loans for himself and his companies, was provisionally liquidated in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

In an urgent application before Mr Justice H Preiss, the provisional wind up order of Allied African Metal Spinners Pty Ltd was granted, because it cannot meet a debt of more than R1,6-million to Ace.Hamil International Pty Ltd, clearing and forwarding agents of Johannesburg.

The managing director of Ace Hamil, Mr Dieter Ehrentraut said in papers before court, his company loaned the amount of R1 629 791 to Allied African during transactions conducted between him and Mr Colin Stein who acted in a personal capacity on behalf of the companies Allied African

Export, Front Line Systems, Allied African Food Services, Copper Unique and Acapulca Restaurant.

He stated that his company's total claim against Allied African exceeded R2,7-million.

Mr Ehrentraut said he was informed by the police that Mr Stein is at present in jail awaiting trial on charges of fraud, theft, forgery and uttering. He was arrested at Jan Smuts Airport on April 27 shortly before he departed for London.

According to Mr Ehrentraut he was told by a senior Pretoria police officer on May 5 that Mr Stein used forged Armscor documentation to establish fraudulent letters of undertaking and guarantees in favour of others to secure loans.

The return date of the order is June 7.

CSO: 3400/1432



## BRIEFS

PAPER FINED--PERSKOR Limited, represented by Mr Harald Pakendorf, and Mr Pakendorf in his personal capacity as Editor of DIE VADERLAND, were convicted in the Johannesburg Magistrates' Court yesterday of contravening the Police Act by publishing a photograph of people who had not yet appeared in court. The photographs, published on the front page of DIE VADERLAND, January 27 issue, were of Commodore Dieter Gerhardt and his wife, Ruth. The magistrate, Mr L S du Toit, found circumstances warranted a suspended sentence. Perskor, against whom a previous conviction was proved, was fined R200, suspended for five years. Mr Pakendorf was fined R100, suspended for five years. In judgment yesterday the magistrate said Cmdre Gerhardt and his wife were taken into custody on January 20. They were still in custody. By January 27, the date of the publication of the photograph, they had not appeared in court. They have still not appeared in court and are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. DIE VADERLAND published the photograph of the couple with black strips across their faces. The magistrate found the black strips were "very ineffective". In mitigation, defence counsel said many other newspapers named the couple and wrote about them and some overseas publications used photographs. Mr J Grobler, prosecuting, said in his opinion what DIE VADERLAND did was "sheer defiance of the law". The article mentioned that the publication of photographs was prohibited at that stage and yet published a photograph with a partially blacked-out face. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 May 83 p 2]

FARM BATTLE--Three mineworkers were battered to death with knobkieries when a gang of about 20 Blacks launched an early morning attack on labourers on the farm Irene, near Welkom on Saturday. Police said several shots were also fired in the fighting. The farmer, Mr H P Blake and his family were awakened when a bullet shattered a bedroom window at about 1,45 am. When the attackers were driven off by the farm labourers, the bodies of the three men were discovered. They have been identified as those of mineworkers on a Goldfields mine. Police who have opened a murder and attempted murder docket, are seeking a motive for the attack. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 May 83 p 8]

TRUCKERS CONVOY--A convoy of military and commercial trucks will be travelling more than 5 000 km around South Africa over the next month helping raise funds for the men on the border. "Convoy" is a project organised by the Southern Cross Fund and sponsored by a truck corporation. Convoy will call

at 40 major truck dealers where a joint function will be held with the Southern Cross Fund and details of a fund-raising competition announced. Four sedan cars will be offered as prizes, for which the Southern Cross Fund hopes to collect R500 000. The project was launched with a gala dinner and send-off attended by Reef mayors in Sandton.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 May 83 p 8]

DAIRY FARMING--Maseru.--The Lesotho government planned to expand dairy farming in Lesotho to make the country self-sufficient and to reduce dependence on South Africa, the Minister of Agriculture and Marketing, Mr Peete, said in the National Assembly in Maseru yesterday during debate on his budget vote. Plans were to increase milk production from 1 000 litres to 10 000 litres a day at the Botsabelo dairy plant in Maseru. He also announced that a new maize mill would be established in Maseru soon.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 May 83 p 5]

TRIBAL BATTLES--Durban.--All was quiet in two areas on the Natal South Coast yesterday where earlier, 11 people were killed and three cows were butchered during faction fighting. Police were still in force in two areas near Amanzimtoti and the Umnini area near Umkomaas. So far, about 232 people have been arrested. The police have also confiscated assegais, knobkerries and knives used in the battles. In the Amanzimtoti area, eight people were killed and the three cows butchered. A number of people were also injured and two cars were damaged. In the Umnini area, police found the bodies of three people after repeated clashes. The cause of the faction fights have not yet been established. [as published] [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 May 83 p 15]

QUOTAS BILL PLEA--Publicly-funded educational institutions, such as universities, should "have the right to admit any prospective student irrespective of race, colour or creed," the South African Jewish Board of Deputies said in a statement issued in Johannesburg yesterday. In appealing to the authorities to scrap the Universities Quota Bill, the statement read: "Mindful of the fact that during certain periods of its history, the Jewish people have been at a disadvantage as a result of quota systems in education, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies appeals to the authorities to relinquish the Universities Quota Bill."--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 May 83 p 5]

BOYCOTT SHUTS DOWN COLLEGE--Durban.--The Springfield College of Education was shut down yesterday while more than 1 000 students continued boycotting lectures and demanding that the Rector, Dr Ganesh Nair, meet them. The boycott, which started on Monday, followed student protests over a political meeting at the college last Friday at which the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk and other government officials had been invited. The meeting was organised by the Indian council. Meanwhile, more than 1 000 students at the University of Durban-Westville met yesterday and condemned the attitude of Dr Nair towards his students. They decided to petition Mr De Klerk to intervene on behalf of the college students.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 May 83 p 3]

EASING MAIZE SHORTAGE--To supplement South Africa's available supply of white maize, yellow maize will be mixed with white--70 percent white and 30 percent yellow (maximum 35 percent)--from next month. Mr Hennie Nel, general manager of the Maize Board, said in a statement yesterday: "As an interim measure it has become necessary to introduce mixing for the first time since 1973/74, because of the very poor maize crop this year. There is a consumer preference for white maize for direct human consumption, but we simply don't have the supplies to continue producing pure white maize products". Mr Nel said there were two avenues open. "We can exhaust our supplies of white maize and then go on to pure yellow maize, or we can mix". He said experience had shown that by mixing, less disruption was caused to the consumer. The possibility of importing white maize had been investigated, but it had been found that only insignificant stocks of inferior quality at unrealistic prices were available. Although the milling industry will not produce any white maize products after June 1, the retail trade will have until June 16 to dispose of existing stocks of white maize products. The Maize Board expects the present situation to continue until at least May 1984.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 May 83 p 11]

NEW DEAL REJECTED--Nearly 1 000 people who attended a meeting at the Dorcas Creche Hall, in Western Township, rejected as fraudulent "the new deal" proposed by the Government and pledged to fight for a new undivided, non-racial, democratic South Africa. The meeting also unanimously accepted a declaration which rejected in total the reform proposals of the President's Council to form itself into the anti-Presidential Structure to oppose the implementation of these proposals. University of Witwatersrand lecturer Dr Ismael Mohammed was unanimously elected chairman of the Transvaal Anti-President's Council. Guest speaker Rev Frank Chikane described the Government's new constitutional proposals as a package of hypocrisy. Messages pledging solidarity with the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee were received from the Council of Unions of South Africa, Congress of South African Students, Natal Indian Congress, Transvaal Indian Congress, Black Students' Society, Release Mandela Committee, Soweto Committee of Ten, Soweto Civic Association, South African Allied Workers' Union, General Workers' Union and the Muslim Students' Association. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 May 83 p 2]

CSO: 3400/1432

## KING'S DEMISE ENDED TRADITIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

London AFRICA NOW in English May 83 pp 38-39

[Text] Recent events in Swaziland, triggered off by the death of Sobhuza II in September last year, have largely been mystified and obscured, especially by the sensationalism characteristic of most Western reports of Third World events. Although individuals can influence history, and Sobhuza was certainly one such individual, they can do so only under certain socio-political and economic conditions.

The current political struggles within the Swazi ruling elite are a manifestation of the various forces within "traditional" and "modern" society, and of the interests which the two major factions of the elite represent. Both factions — the so-called moderates and the conservative, right-wing "traditionalists" — derive their status and authority from the traditional power base.

For the last 20 years, since the official opposition was crushed in the early 1960s with the close collaboration of Britain as the colonial power, and through the use of British forces — the Highland Regiment — Sobhuza had very skilfully played off one faction of the elite against another.

After independence in 1968, with the White settlers behind him Sobhuza incorporated several former members of the opposition parties, for example, Sishayi Nxumalo who is presently the most important man in the right-wing faction and who was Sobhuza's roving ambassador — i.e. the link between big multinational capital and the "Swazi Nation" as Sobhuza euphemistically referred to himself. Sobhuza manipulated the political system to serve his own interests and the interests of those surrounding him. In this way he was able to survive the changes at independence.

Any elements who tried to gain power outside his patronage system were crushed, either through detention — for example Dr Ambrose Zwane, leader of the former opposition party, the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress (NNLC) has been in and

out of prison during the last 15 years. He has now become quite ineffective and is not seen by the state as posing any real threat.

The case of Ngwenya is another example of how any attempt to gain power outside of the Dlamini patronage system was dealt with severely. Ngwenya won a seat during the so-called elections of 1972, elections which were supposed to show that Swaziland was a free and democratic country. But, Ngwenya was denied the seat on the alleged grounds that he was not a "real" Swazi — i.e. that he had not been born in Swaziland but in KaNgwane instead. KaNgwane is one of the two areas in South Africa which the Swazi rulers now claim belong to Swaziland.

Ngwenya was declared a prohibited immigrant and deported to KaNgwane in 1972-73, and in 1976 when the talk about "re-unification" with the "lost children of Swaziland" began in real earnest, the allegations against Ngwenya were conveniently forgotten. A mere three years later, the people of KaNgwane had become Swazis who should rightfully be part of Swaziland.

Soon after the Ngwenya incident Sobhuza suspended the Constitution in 1973, and introduced a provision allowing for the detention without trial of individuals for periods of 60 days at a time, a provision which is still in use presently in Swaziland.

Having shut down the Parliament, all power reverted to Lobamba, the site of the Royal Residence, and until 1978-79 when the next constitution was formulated, all legislation was passed in the form of Orders-in-Council by the Likoqo, headed by Sobhuza.

While Sobhuza was alive, the contradictions between the moderates and the conservative, right-wing traditionalists were kept under very tight cover, because Sobhuza, the shrewd politician that he was, was able to control both groups, and both

groups owed allegiance to him and the Council.

The moderates who are made up essentially of civil servants — who are increasingly including young university-educated Swazi — are headed by the Prime Minister, and they administer the state. Mabandla, who was a manager of one of the government-created small-holder schemes providing sugar-cane to one of the three mills in the country before he was made Prime Minister in 1979, was a good example of the kind of small property interests which the moderates represent.

They recognise that Swaziland, because of its geographical and historical proximity to South Africa, cannot adopt a stance very different from its present one of peaceful co-existence with South Africa as a neighbour, without upsetting the apple-cart. Mabandla often emphasised the significance of such a stance for Swaziland (or rather for the interests of the ruling elite, since the Swazi people are not given any opportunity to express themselves on matters of national or foreign policy), while recognising also that the South African regime is repressive and unjust.

Mabandla, who surprised most people by "fleeing" to South Africa, had consistently created the impression of a moderate man, someone who used his position soon after becoming Prime Minister to get the release of some 15 individuals who had been detained in the late 70s, and who have probably been re-detained again or will be sooner than later now that the right-wing has taken control of the Likoqo.

On the other hand, the right-wing traditionalists adopted a more conservative attitude, arguing for increased investment by both multinational capital and by South African corporations. The Swazi economy has been shared out, through an "open-door" policy, between South Africa and multinational (mainly British) capital.

South African capital has almost complete control over mining in Swaziland, especially of coal, asbestos and until recently iron ore which has now been depleted. South African companies also control the tourist and service sectors of the economy, and tenders for infrastructural development are usually granted to South African construction companies. Anglo-American, the huge South African company, has recently moved into the timber industry, which was previously dominated by British capital (Commonwealth Development Corporation and Courtaulds). Most of commercial agriculture comprising of sugar, timber and citrus is foreign-owned, by mainly British companies.

The relationship between the right-wing faction of the Swazi elite, led by Sishayi Nxumalo and South African and multi-

national capital is crucial for a clear understanding of the present struggles. Through a commercial organisation called *Tibiyo Taka Ngwane*, whose director is none other than Dr Sishayi Nxumalo, and another parastatal, the National Industrial Development Corporation of Swaziland (NIDCS), the right-wing faction has been able to establish a partnership with multinational capital and South African capital.

NIDCS offers investors cheap labour, endless incentives and conditions conducive to high rates of profit. The "Tibiyo Mafia," as it has sometimes been called, is made up of the most influential right-wing elements — princes, White settlers (in legal practice and in farming), representatives of big business (sugar, timber and citrus) and some elements from the powerful clans.

Together, these two organisations represent an emerging elite which owes its position to its relationship with the traditional political system. Tibiyo was and still is the link between big business and the king. It was set up by Sobhuza as a fund into which mineral levies were paid: "Section 91 of the Independence Constitution vested control over Swaziland's mineral wealth in the king in trust for the Nation." This wealth has not been used for the benefit of the Swazi people, but instead it has been used by a faction of the Swazi ruling elite to invest in the economy, with South African and British capital, in joint ventures whose profits are enjoyed by these three.

To quote an extract from the NIDCS' *Guide for Investors in Swaziland*: "Wages in Swaziland are low even when compared with those in other African countries . . . Swaziland has only one effective trade union (Bank Workers' Union) . . . strikes are rare." In fact, the Deputy Prime Minister, Ben Nsibandze, whose office is in charge of labour relations, is reported to have laughed in disbelief at report by the *Times of Swaziland* last year of a strike by Swazi workers employed by Wimpey — the British construction firm.

Secondly, the provision of land to investors is one of the incentives offered by Tibiyo. For example, Tibiyo, which has a 32% shareholding in the Simunye sugar company, provided most of the land for the project, as part of the joint venture between "the Swazi Nation" and multinational capital. Tibiyo is also involved in various commercial projects ranging from ranching to cotton production — using Swazi Nation land.

The issue of the land deal has been reported upon at great length in the Western media. The issue at stake right now is not whether the Swazi claim is right or wrong. What is more important is that the right-wing faction which recently consolidated itself in Swaziland will continue to push for the land deal with South Africa.

The land deal does not offer any advantages for the Swazi people on either side of the fence — instead it would mean that the struggle to survive will be intensified. Already, the Swazi people in Swaziland have been suffering from the present capitalist crisis — rising prices and

spiralling inflation, most of which is a consequence of the very close economic ties which Swaziland has with South Africa.

In effect, the standard of living of the Swazi people has been dropping steadily over the last three or four years as real wages have fallen ●

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## PALACE COUP SHEDS LIGHT ON OBSCURE TRADITIONAL POLITICS

London AFRICA NOW in English May 83 pp 33, 34, 37, 38, 39

[Text] A quiet palace revolution in March removed from office the mildly reformist Prime Minister of Swaziland, the little independent kingdom sandwiched between apartheid South Africa and the radical Republic of Mozambique.

Prince Mabandla Dlamini, who was specially chosen for the job three years ago by the ageing King Sobhuza II, was dismissed from it by order of Queen Regent Dzeliwe on March 18, just eight months after Sobhuza's death.

Five days later he was replaced by another prince of the dominant Dlamini clan, Prince Bekhimpfi Dlamini, a more traditionalist figure who had been an obscure Assistant Minister in the Deputy Prime Minister's office.

The palace coup was the result of a power struggle between Mabandla and the powerful traditionalists of the Supreme National Council, or *Liqoqo*, to fill the considerable political vacuum left by the autocratic Sobhuza's death after a 61-year reign — its Queen Regent Dzeliwe caught in the middle.

Mabandla's loss came as a surprise not only to himself but to most Swazis. Only a week before he had looked to be winning against his enemies in the 17-man *Liqoqo*, which is a conservatory of tribal traditionalism that had grown into a rival government after Sobhuza's death.

On March 15 Queen Regent Dzeliwe summoned Swaziland's 400 chiefs to her royal cattle kraal at Lobamba, in the picturesque Ezulwini (Heavenly) Valley below the hillside capital of Mbabane, to make clear her support for Mabandla. But over the next 48 hours huge pressure must have been brought to bear on Dzeliwe to make her change her mind. Dr George Msibi, a powerful member of the *Liqoqo* and one of Mabandla's arch-opponents, admitted in an interview that other members of the royal family had called on the queen regent on the morning of March 17.

"They asked her to explain certain things about the procedure she had followed at the meeting on the 15th," Dr Msibi told *Africa Now*. "I don't think they threatened her. I don't think it came to that."

Whatever was said — and some experts on Swazi royal tradition think it may have been some deep and sinister hint connected with ancient tribal lore — it clearly had a dramatic effect on Dzeliwe's standpoint. By that evening she had agreed to sign the dismissal order which was published in an extraordinary issue of the Government Gazette next day.

Mabandla, bewildered by the sudden turn of events, clung tentatively to office through the weekend. But on Monday, March 21, when it became evident that the efficient little police force which had been firmly behind the Prime Minister was not going to back him against the queen regent's order, Mabandla slipped away to his remote mountain home near Pigg's Peak, north of Mbabane. A week later he went to South Africa.

The quiet coup ended on Wednesday, March 23, when Dzeliwe again summoned the chiefs to her cattle kraal, a large circular enclosure with a fence of stout sticks bound tightly together. There, as she sat looking disconsolate in the dry manure wearing skins and a red lurie feather in her hair to denote her royal status, her official helper, a prince who rejoices in the title of "The Authorised Person", named Prince Bekhimpfi as Mabandla's successor.

The roots of the conflict leading up to this power struggle between Mabandla and the *Liqoqo* are to be found several years back while Sobhuza was still alive. Throughout his long rule Sobhuza tried to reconcile his own deep attachment to Swazi traditionalism with an awareness that his backward little country needed to catch up with the 20th century. He tried himself to synthesise the two things, playing both

# SHOT LEOPARD IS 'BAD OMEN'

THE leopard shot and killed near the Prime Minister's official residence may be a sign of bad luck.

"It is strange for a leopard to be found in a densely populated area like Mbabane," commented Prince Makhungu.

"During the reign of King Bhunu, leopards were on the rampage at the Mdzimba Mountains. They were killing and eating goats. Strangely enough, after the King directed that they should not be killed, the leopards stopped killing the goats," Prince Makhungu told The Times.

The last time a leopard was killed in Swaziland the late King Sobhuza II was still a young boy, he said.

"You better go down to Lobamba and ask for their opinion on what this means," Prince Makhungu advised The Times reporters.

A senior councillor from the Mbilweni District, Mr. Lokosa Ngwenya told The Times: "I never heard of a leopard being found in towns.

This is a sign of something that is going to happen to us. I don't like it at all. Leopards are rare animals and you can spend days trying to make contact with one in a hunt. What was it doing at Manguweni?"

Although some people have pointed out that the

By  
**MANDLA  
MAGAGULA**

Emvutjini valley could have leopards, others could not understand how the predator could have gone so near to the Prime Minister's residence without being seen.

The last time a leopard was reported was six years ago when a man at Ntondozo escaped with serious injuries after he clashed with the animal.

## Waited

Mr. Mabhakelane Ndzimandze recalled to The Times how he heard his friend shouting for help.

"I took my young son home and returned to the scene," Mr. Ndzimandze said. "I realised that my friend was trying to kill a leopard. Armed with knobkerries, I took my position across the river and waited because I could hear its roar.

When it came my way it went up a tree. I had my three dogs but they would not go near the animal. One of my friend's dogs went below the tree and started barking. When I came close to the tree the leopard jumped upon me and attacked viciously using its hindlegs to claw me. My friend ran away and I

realised that I would be killed.

We grappled and I managed to push my elbow into its mouth. My friend's courageous dog saved me when it attacked the leopard. When it turned on the dog I managed to get up and run for my life.

However, it had already slashed my throat and I was bleeding profusely. When I drank water it came out through the wound on my windpipe. I was taken to hospital and spent two weeks recovering from my wounds."

Mr. Ndzimandze said the matter was reported to Lobamba but the late King Sobhuza II directed that the leopard should not be hunted down because Mr. Ndzimandze had survived.

Mr. Ndzimandze still bears the marks of the wounds the leopard inflicted on him. He has marks on his throat, the arm and all over his chest.

He told The Times that the leopard had never been seen in an area since his fateful clash with the cat.

"I don't wish to ever be involved with leopards. Once was enough for me," Mr. Ndzimandze's story was confirmed by his chief, Prince Sifuba. The Prince said he also believed that it was a bad omen for wild animals to be found in a populated area.

**The sign of things to come?: a month later Prime Minister Mabandla Dlamini was ousted**

modern and traditional roles simultaneously, sometimes appearing at functions wearing animal skins and feathers and at other times in an elaborate field marshal's uniform with gold epaulettes.

In the last three years of his life Sobhuza did two things which he apparently thought would help continue this attempted synthesis after his death. One was to reconstitute the Likoqo and greatly increase its powers. Sobhuza named 17 members to the traditionalist body and gave it the astonishing authority "to overrule any law or decision in the national interest."

The other was to summon all the chiefs to the royal kraal at Lobamba after the death of Prime Minister Maphevu Dlamini in December 1979. There, without forewarning, the skin-clad old king suddenly pointed his fighting stick at a surprised Mabandla standing in the crowd and proclaimed: "There, chiefs of Swaziland, is your new Prime Minister."

Mabandla, then in his mid-40s, had not had a day's political experience. He was the son of one of the king's many cousins, had a degree in commerce from the University of South Africa, and was the successful managing director of a large sugar estate.

What Sobhuza had in mind, local pundits think, is that the Likoqo should become the policy-making body after his death, ensuring the continuation of traditionalist policies, but with a modern executive Prime Minister, uninterested himself in policy matters, to carry them out. Nice in theory, but in practice it turned out to be strangely naive for such a wily old ruler. Mabandla, lumped with the job, decided to make a go of it and started becoming his own man.

The traditionalist restraints irked him. Insiders say he began clashing with Sobhuza. One of his first acts was to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate corruption, a growing problem among members of the extended royal family who think their blood entitles them to commercial as well as tribal privileges.

Mabandla named a respected Indian barrister from Johannesburg, Ismail Mohammed, to head his commission. As Mohammed started summoning witnesses, some members of the Likoqo began showing increasing signs of agitation. The word got about that the commission's report was going to embarrass some very high-placed Swazis. Eventually the Likoqo called on Sobhuza about it, and the old



king went over Mabandla's head to order the commission disbanded.

That, it could be said, marked the beginning of the power struggle. It established Mabandla and the Liqoqo as enemies — and also gave Mabandla a greater degree of popular support among ordinary Swazis than any previous Prime Minister.

Then, last August, Sobhuza died. The political vacuum he left behind was made even greater by the complicated and drawn-out succession procedure that followed. It was more than 80 years since it had last been used, to select Sobhuza — as the new infant king in the year of his birth, 1899, and there was nobody around who remembered the details of how the procedure was supposed to work.

To complicate matters further Sobhuza had based his statecraft on a complex pattern of kinship ties between the royal house and the main Swazi clans that left him eventually, at a conservative estimate, with 70 wives and 150 children. Selecting a successor from all those claimants was a long and difficult business, particularly since the choice is supposed to fall on an infant son, of which there are none.

The job fell to the Liqoqo and it is thought to have made its choice but not announced it yet. It is considered disrespectful for Swazis to speculate on the succession, but among foreigners the word is that he is a lad named either Prince Makhosetive or Makhosemuele. He is said to have been sent to Britain with his mother to be educated, and will be officially named only when his schooling is finished (see *Africa Now*, March).

Meanwhile, Dzeliwe rules as regent. She is a senior wife who was named by Sobhuza as *Ndlovukazi* (The Great She-Elephant), a theoretically important position in what is supposed to be a dual monarchy system but which Sobhuza dominated totally.

Little is known of Dzeliwe. She is said to be in her mid-50s but looks much older, with a tired, careworn face. Some say she is illiterate, others that she can read a little English but never speaks it. She is assisted in her job by "The Authorised Person," Prince Sozisa. Little is known of him either.

In this situation both Prince Mabandla and the Liqoqo moved to increase their authority and virtually become rival governments. Mabandla won most of the early rounds, mainly because of the support of Dzeliwe and of the police force. He dismissed a key member of the Liqoqo, Prince Polycarp Dlamini, from his cabinet, where he was Minister of Justice, and named him Ambassador to Washington. Polycarp Dlamini, who is Mabandla's principal opponent gathered some powerful royals to his banner and rejected the appointment. Mabandla climbed down.

On February 15 Mabandla suspended Parliament, and began ruling by decree, claiming there had been an attempted coup against him.

When Parliament did eventually open in late February the country heard two different versions of the same opening speech read on behalf of Queen Dzeliwe. While sitting MPs heard Education Minister Canon Siphetse Dlamini read her speech as affirming the royalist *status quo*, the common people listening on their radios heard another version promising increased democratisation and conferring supremacy in government on the Prime Minister and cabinet as opposed to the royalist Liqoqo.

The confusion gave way to a police investigation and tough action. Insiders say the police investigation revealed that two members of the Liqoqo had intercepted the copy of the original speech destined for parliament. They were allegedly Prince Mfanasibili Dlamini, an undistinguished former Cabinet Minister, and Chief Mfanenkosi Maseko, a former personal aide to Sobhuza.

This copy of the speech was then rewritten by conservative royalists and was read, in its amended form, to parliament. But the group did not succeed in intercepting that copy of the original speech which had gone to the Swazi Broadcasting Service.

Prince Mfanasibili and Chief Mfanenkosi were arrested in early March on charges of sedition. Owing largely to vigorous testimony against them by the police, they were refused bail at successive court appearances in the Mbabane Magistrates Court and the Swazi High Court.

The growing anti-Mabandla royalist faction, which also included Agriculture Minister A K Hlophe, Liqoqo member and MP Dr George Msibi and Home Affairs Minister Prince Gabheni Dlamini, were incensed at the arrests. There were private threats from at least one royalist to forcibly release the men from jail with the help of the small Swazi army. And conservatives began to exert enormous pressure on the Queen Regent.

The tide had gradually begun to turn against Mabandla. The first sign was when the Queen Regent changed her mind about Prince Polycarp and ordered Mabandla to re-instate him as Minister of Justice.

Then followed a series of curious incidents which looked suspiciously like a campaign to exploit tribal superstitions to discredit Mabandla. A leopard, something not seen in Swaziland for years, was shot outside Mabandla's home on the outskirts of Mbabane by one of his security guards. On succeeding nights first a buck then a baboon were also shot by the guard.

According to Swazi lore, this amounted to a bad omen. A zoologist who examined the body of the leopard said it looked well-fed, as if from a zoo or a game farm.

Finally there was the Queen Regent's big change of mind about Mabandla himself after the visit by the other members of the Royal Family on March 17.

Dr Msibi hinted that the meeting had been about the arrest of the two family members for sedition. "She was asked to explain why she had not followed the agreed agenda for the meeting on the 15th (the one at which she had endorsed Mabandla)," Dr Msibi said.

"It had been agreed that at that meeting she would explain the decree that established the Liqoqo. This was to make clear whether or not the police had exceeded their authority in arresting two members of the Liqoqo."

It seems clear, from what Dr Msibi said, that Mabandla overplayed his hand in ordering the arrest of the two Royals; and

that this incurred the wrath of the Royal Family which put the Queen Regent at odds with them — and herself in danger. Some observers think the pressure on her may simply have been a hint that unless she stopped backing Mabandla the Liqoqo might change their plans and name the new king immediately.

If they did that, his own mother would immediately become Ndlovukazi in Dzeliwe's place and take over as Queen Regent until the young king turns 21. But others more versed in tribal lore say it would be improper to make so direct a threat against the monarch, and that more subtle hints may have been left in the air.

For example, there is an ancient custom that if a monarch comes into conflict with the collective will of the Royal Family a herbal poison may be slipped into his food. Nothing is ever said, but all Royals know about it.

It may well have been a hint as sinister as that which caused Dzeliwe's dramatic change of mind ●

### The Liqoqo: A Watchdog That Grew Too Strong

The people of Swaziland are traditionally represented on the government by two councils, the Liqoqo (Inner Council) and the Libandla (General Council). It is the Liqoqo, however, a development of the family council and predominantly aristocratic, which wields the power in Swaziland today and acts as a watchdog over parliament.

The Liqoqo is under a prince who is specially "pointed out" to the people. Not every royal kinsman is a member: members are chosen by the king-in-council mainly from senior princes and from able commoners. The principal qualifications are ability, interest and general standing. The king, his mother (the only woman on the council) and the great counsellor are *ex-officio* members.

Traditionally the rulers continued to consult the Liqoqo of their predecessors, who also made suggestions for additional suitable members. For convenience, the council was limited in numbers, and Sobhuza kept it down to less than 30. No public announcement is made of any new candidate, and there is no need to replace a member who dies. The majority of Swazi do not know who is on the Liqoqo or the special qualifications of each member.

One of the major assets of the Liqoqo is its largely informal character. The king was able to summon any member whom he desired to consult or whose services he required. He did not hold regular sessions of the council, but discussed matters that arose with members who were available. Only when an important decision on policy was necessary did he call the full Liqoqo. A

few members are always at or near the royal villages and may advise on everyday routine. When the king travelled, one or two of the Liqoqo were usually in his entourage. Thus, the Liqoqo operates through individual members who are in more or less constant attendance on the king and the queen mother.

The functions of the Liqoqo, like the personnel, are not specialised or precise. The Liqoqo may advise, make decisions, and execute them — this applies to issues which vary as widely as questions of land, education, traditional ritual, court procedure or transport. Any matter may be referred to the Liqoqo but the sanction of the Libandla is required on important matters. Furthermore, the Liqoqo may on no occasion override a decision of the Libandla. The rulers bow before the councils (as has been the recent case of Queen Dzeliwe's dismissal of Prime Minister Mabandla, where she reluctantly agreed to the wishes of the current Liqoqo). Members of the Liqoqo do not fear expulsion if they speak freely, and they openly criticise when they feel it is necessary.

In the past when life was sufficiently unchanging not to require many council sessions, the Liqoqo was only summoned as a corporate body perhaps four times a year and the Libandla — a much larger and more formal council, whose members include all the chiefs, their leading counsellors, prominent headmen and any adult male who wishes to attend and therefore by dint of its size less manageable than the Liqoqo — only three times.

With the establishment of a Legislative Council and later a single parliament after independence in 1967, British constitutional lawyers assumed that the Swazi National Council (the Libandla and the Likoqo) would be redundant and disappear. To them it was a symbol of a dual system in which the traditional structure served as an obstructive shadow government. However, at every constitutional discussion Sobhuza's men insisted that the Swazi National Council be continued and receive recognition. With independence it continued to serve as the "cultural watchdog" of Parliament confronting new issues and passing new legislation.

One of King Sobhuza's difficult tasks was to keep the two bodies distinct but complementary and not let their lines of authority conflict. When it was reported to Sobhuza that certain members of the Swazi National Council exceeded their authority, using his name to back their actions, he called a meeting and affirmed the higher legislative authority of Parliament. The Swazi National Council was the foundation of Swazi rule, he declared, not the total structure.

When the Westminster-style constitution was repealed in 1972, the full burden of sovereignty was placed on King Sobhuza. Much of the machinery of government was retained, however. The Cabinet (Council of Ministers) continued to meet regularly while the Likoqo was involved in constant

discussion and new legislation which was generally initiated by the appropriate Minister and drafted by the Attorney General.

On major issues Sobhuza adhered to the principle that the Likoqo should arrive at a consensus before he could make a personal commitment on any particular issue. Three issues were put to the Libandla as well although it met less frequently and was highly unlikely to reverse the decisions of the Inner Council, but anyone present was free to express his personal opinion.

From 1971, however, the dual system of government began to falter and the early harmonious co-operation within the government was being disturbed by differences of opinion between the Cabinet and the Likoqo on a variety of issues relating to development, appointments, qualifications and salary of government staff, licences, citizenship and land policy.

**The royal-studded Likoqo is constituted as follows:** *Prince Makhungu Dlamini, Prince Sifuba Dlamini, Prince Ghabeni Dalmini, Prince Mancidane Dlamini, Prince Lusekwane Dlamini, Prince Polycarp Dlamini, Prince Mfanisibeli Dlamini, Prince Sifo Dlamini, Chief Tsekwane Dlamini, Chief Mavandlakazi Dlamini, Chief Mlimi Maziya, Chief Msanakwenkose Maseko, Councillor Ndleleni Gwebu, Dr George Msibi, Ndavuna Masenjane Msibanze and A K Hlope, the Minister of Agriculture. The Secretary is Robert Mabela, who is also Secretary for Justice ●*

CSO: 3400/1441

EDITORIAL URGES STRENGTHENING OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 19 Apr 83 p 4

[Editorial: "We Should Strengthen District Administrations"]

[Text] Before the last decade this country was evolving a policy which was moving towards practical decentralisation of most of the services, ranging from health, education, roads maintenance to agriculture. The aim was to give the people the feeling that they were doing something of their own--to satisfy their own need.

This also had the position effect of creating competitiveness among the people of different regions and as a consequence competition tended to stimulate development process. This kind of approach turned out to be the fastest way of implementing development programmes because when most decisions are left to the people in the headquarters, the nation runs the danger of getting infected with bureaucratic sluggishness.

Unfortunately during the past decade the regime that was in power decided to disorganise whatever had been done in strengthening local administrations. As a result there was a total collapse in virtually all services.

The main task which now faces all of us is that of restoring the strength of local administration in order to make them strong and instrumental in development process. In our view, the government should carry out practical and complete decentralisation of most of the services so that decision making is done locally as this is the only way to ensure speed and efficiency in the execution of development projects.

Most of the upcountry officers and workers admit that they are not doing anything worth mention. From agriculture veterinary, community development to information officers, there is nothing they are doing to fight the known enemies of the people, disease, ignorance and poverty.

Today many upcountry workers complain of the problem of shortage of facilities, and yet there is evidence that shows that the few available facilities are being misused for personal gain by the very officers. And even then, those who have the necessary facilities cannot justify their presence in the government payroll.

CSO: 3400/1410

## CORRESPONDENT EXAMINES CSP REGIME AFTER 6 MONTHS IN POWER

London WEST AFRICA in English 9 May 83 pp 1111-1113

[Text] RHETORIC, when it is not backed up with concrete action is unlikely to have long-term effects. The *Conseil du Salut du Peuple* (CSP) has now been in power for six months in Upper Volta and continues to insist that its job will last for just two years: with a quarter of that time passed, we have seen little more than moralistic speeches with fascinating ideas in them and a basic spring cleaning exercise of the administration. Some very adventurous ideas in democratic participation have been mooted, but they imply far-reaching structural reforms.

Perhaps because there have been so few concrete actions to respond to, most interest has been centred on the language in which the CSP have presented their ideas. This has been particularly the case for the strongly anti-imperialist tone of Prime Minister Sankara. A mass rally was held in Ouagadougou recently to which foreign ambassadors were invited. The Prime Minister announced that imperialism was an enemy of the people; imperialism was watching and was trembling; imperialism was to be buried in Ouagadougou. On the following Monday morning, the President received diplomats from the American and German embassies to reassure them: this was primarily an internal meeting and had no effect on external relations.

The foreign press have started to take firm positions in relation to the CSP, but again apparently basing their assessments on the rhetoric used rather than the ideas proposed. The popular Paris based *Jeune Afrique* had a cover photograph of Prime Minister Sankara for a recent issue with the large caption "The Marxists Settle In" (*Les Marxistes s'installent*). The more radical *Afrique Asie* had a very flattering sixteen

page feature on Upper Volta entitled "Two Years To Win" (*Deux Ans Pour Gagner*). The previous edition had carried a piece on Sankara's visit to the non-aligned summit in New Delhi, citing the "progressive and revolutionary positions" he took there. Sankara was one of the most popular figures at the summit, they claimed, with important Third World leaders queuing to shake his hand.

Meanwhile, the CSP continues its series of initiatives which Commandant Lingani, General Secretary of the CSP, describes as being designed "to initiate the process of dialogue" between the CSP and the people. A new monthly paper for literate French speakers was established in March called *l'Armée du Peuple*. Every Tuesday evening there is a one hour radio programme "Direct Line to the CSP" (*En Direct Avec le CSP*) during which CSP members answer questions the public sends in.

The series of regional visits begun by the CSP in February have continued: six departments had been covered, three more were visited in the first half of April (Centre; Centre Est; Centre Ouest). Led by members of the CSP along with members of the Government, the visits have become much clearer in their message and much less evasive in their answers. The visit to the Centre Department culminated on April 16 with another rally in the main square of Ouagadougou attended by several thousand people. Unlike the previous rally, this was not an occasion for speeches, but a question and answer session. Questions were answered by members of the CSP and by Ministers: although the President and the Prime Minister were both present, they did not say anything. This

was perhaps a deliberate attempt to downplay the dominant image the two created for themselves during the rally three weeks previously. Security arrangements were overwhelming, with tanks and lorryloads of armed soldiers lining the square: many Voltaics preferred to listen in the side streets rather than enter the square itself.

The prime interest of the rally was not the questions nor the specific content of the answers, but the general refrain that underlay almost everything the CSP said. How do the CSP intend to give a voice to the peasants in remote areas? It is not for the CSP to impose anything, but for the peasants to organise themselves democratically through the structure which the CSP will provide. How will the CSP organise the country's youth? The youth must organise themselves democratically, the Youth Minister replied. The Minister of Information explained how the state information services were to be restructured, because the CSP was not just there to give out a message but to learn from the people. And the same approach would be used after two years of CSP rule: they had no preconceptions about the particular democratic model that would be most appropriate for Upper Volta, but would just give the people the chance to express themselves.

The President and the Prime Minister, seven Government Ministers and most members of the CSP sat in temperatures above 40°C and on past nightfall, to say that they were there to awaken the people's conscience. All of this was fascinating and perhaps unique, but until the authorities start to present the specific structures and reforms, it is no more than a set of undefined ideas. If the CSP read the banners at the rally, they would have noticed one which said "Speed it up, PM" (*M. le PM, Accelerez la Vitesse*).

It would be misleading to imply that only *Jeune Afrique* and a few Western ambassadors are noting the more "radical" aspects of the CSP. Since the failed coup attempt of February 28, political arrests have continued, including Frederic Guirma who

was the first Voltaic Ambassador to the UN, ex President Zerbo's Minister of Education Albert Patouin Ouedraogo, and the union militant and leader of the break-away *Front de Refus*, Joseph Ouedraogo. This group was arrested on March 19 for apparently plotting a coup that would centre around a business strike.

Nor are the trade unions fully supporting the new regime. Hamidou Baba Ouedraogo, General Secretary of SNEAHV (the National Union of African Teachers in Upper Volta), recently spoke out strongly about the CSP to his union conference: he spoke against the forced labour curfew breakers were obliged to undertake and against the humiliation involved in reading a person's name out on the radio if they were caught in a bar during working hours.

Many people are concerned that the trials promised by the CSP of the country's former leaders have still not begun. When he took power in November last year, President Ouedraogo promised that trials would start in a maximum of six months' time. That time limit is now over, but during the April 16 rally, the Minister of Justice announced that the files on the leaders of the Third Republic were now complete and that trials would begin soon.

But the biggest political problem the CSP faces lies within the army itself. The failed coup attempt of February 28 was just one that hit the headlines: others are regularly planned in the barracks rooms. The President has delegated responsibility for army discipline and control to Prime Minister Sankara, and late at night most evenings he tours the barracks around Ouagadougou to check on security and discipline. He travels alone in a private car, heavily armed, and arrives unannounced. His task is daunting; not just to prevent political dissent, but to try and instil a sense of social responsibility in the troops. When you visit a Voltaic town with an army garrison and see the way a small group of soliders can intimidate the local population, you realise at once what a long haul it will be to begin to implement the rhetoric of the rallies.

## The economy: what programme?

As well as "conscientising" The People, the *Conseil du Salut du Peuple* face a daunting task in feeding and clothing them. If pronouncements on political reforms have been vague, those on economic reforms have been virtually non-existent. This is hardly surprising. The room for manoeuvre is constricting to the point of suffocation.

Upper Volta is what the aid agencies call a "basket case"; the hundreds of aid missions there realise that their work is not improving the overwhelming poverty of the country and that neither food self-sufficiency nor industrial "take off" are immediately foreseeable; but it is also true that if the external aid flow were to dry up, large numbers would die of hunger.

Perhaps the CSP's most significant idea in this respect is to centralise and co-ordinate the external aid effort. The problem here is that aid directors have their own national interests to serve and also have egos like everyone else.

Only about one per cent of Upper Volta's 7m. citizens are integrated into the domestic monetarised economy, and over 90 per cent depend on agriculture for a livelihood. An estimated 500,000 Voltaics work on the plantations in the Ivory Coast, repatriating about \$100m. per annum, though this figure is likely to fall in coming years.

Domestic agriculture accounts for only about 35 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (down 10 per cent of the proportionate contribution of a decade ago), despite the overwhelming proportion of the population engaged in this activity. As usual, national budget allocations for agriculture come nowhere near either of these percentages.

The industrial sector is tiny, comprising two textile mills (which do not cover local needs); thirteen cotton ginneries (a rare

growth sector); a brewery; a tannery (processing leather from the vital meat crop, most of which is exported to the coast where stock-rearing is impossible because of disease); several rice and saw mills; cigarette and match factories; and a moped and bicycle assembly plant, which again, does not satisfy the local demands of Ouagadougou. "Moped City".

Principle exports are livestock, karité seeds and cotton; receipts from exports do not cover imports. The balance of payments is in chronic deficit and bankruptcy is only prevented by remittances, international aid and budgetary support from sources like France. The only significant growth area in recent years has been the tertiary (Government and other services) sector.

Some hopes are pinned on mining (gold, nickel, manganese, phosphates and marble), but the cost of infrastructure required — at the moment the EEC are closest to financing it — will be prohibitive until international markets pick up.

CSO: 3400/1439

## AGREEMENTS WITH GUINEA ENTER INTO EFFECT

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 30 Apr 83 p 3

[Article: "Zairian-Guinean Agreements Enter Into Effect"]

[Text] Last Friday, at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Maitre Kamanda Wa Kamanda, state commissioner to foreign affairs and international cooperation, and Mr Senainon Behanzin, Guinean minister of agro-pastoral district farms and agricultural cooperatives, exchanged the instruments ratifying the agreements, convention and treaty signed by the Republic of Zaire and the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea.

These agreements deal with sea transport, telecommunications, the trade sector, the creation of a large joint Guinean-Zairian commission, as well as cultural, scientific and social cooperation.

These various agreements, the legal convention and the friendship and cooperation treaty were signed in Kinshasa on 30 September 1980.

The two statesmen declared themselves pleased to see these agreements, convention and treaty enter into effect, as this demonstrates the determination of the two countries to strengthen their cooperation relations.

Mr Behanzin visited Kinshasa at the head of a Guinean delegation to the third meeting of the large joint Zairian-Guinean commission.

End of the Kinshasa Visit of the Guinean Minister of Agro-Pastoral Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives

Mr Behanzin Senainon, Guinean minister of agro-pastoral farms and agricultural cooperatives, left Kinshasa for Conakry on Friday, at the close of a one-week official mission to Zaire.

The two parties, Mr Behanzin stated, have once again taken this opportunity to study the ways and means of exploiting the cooperation possibilities that are open to the two states considering the complementarity of their respective economies.

Guinea and Zaire, the Guinean minister indicated, have already signed nine agreements covering several fields of major interest for their development.



During his visit to Kinshasa, Mr Behanzin visited the Maluku steelplant (Steelmaking Company), certain textile factories and the operations of the J.V.L.-Kolo company in Bas-Zaire.

The Guinean minister of agro-pastoral firms and agricultural cooperatives said he was pleased with the successful outcome of his visit; upon his departure, he was greeted by Maitre Kamanda Wa Kamanda, state commissioner to foreign affairs and international cooperation, and by Mrs Fatou Diara, Guinean ambassador to Zaire.

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CSO: 3419/916

BORDER TRAFFIC EXPECTED TO BEGIN SOON

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 30 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Kasonga Ndunga Mule: "Border Trade: Soon a Reality"]

[Text] Exchanges between inhabitants of the border zones of neighboring countries remain a crucial problem for the populations in the northeast of the Republic of Zaire. Essentially, exchanges with Uganda, Tanzania, Sudan, Kenya and the Central African Republic are involved.

Exchanges already take place; in particular, third-quality agricultural products are traded for other products. For that reason, several border control posts have been officially opened. They include the Aba, Bitima, Aru, Mahagi, Ndu, Kasenyi and Doruma posts, all in the Haut-Zaire region. The various control services--such as customs, OZAC [Zairian Control Office], immigration services, the territorial army, the gendarmerie--were to be represented at all these strategic points.

Some time ago, all these departments and the Bank of Zaire held a meeting at regional level to rule on border trade. Alone the OZAC was represented only at Bunia, Isiro, Aketi and other smaller posts.

To demonstrate the desire of the Zairian Control Office (acronym OZAC) to fully play its role as the eyes of the Executive Council with respect to both the quantity and quality of the products to be imported or exported, the assistant general director of this office, Citizen Mondombo Sisa Ebambe, has made a point of investigating in person the situation that prevails in this region, where fraud may well become a tradition.

For that reason, he was to examine the possibility of providing certain existing posts with vehicles or other appropriate logistic means to ensure their mobility and, therefore, make all these posts profitable. The guest of the region also visited Isiro, in the Haut-Uele subregion, as well as the Kivu region, on a similar mission.

It should be noted that, thanks to the OZAC, all border posts will be able to follow border trade more closely and, therefore, to reduce or abolish fraud on official routes. In addition, this tour will enable him to get in touch with the National Association of Zairian Enterprises whose members do not seem to understand that the action of OZAC is quite justified.

MPR OFFICIAL STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF CADRE'S ROLE

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 26 Apr 83 p 7

[Article by Angelo Mobateli: "Cadre's Role In the Spirit of the MPR"]

[Text] Acting on the recommendation made by the governor of the town of Kinshasa on Saturday 9 April at the 20-May stadium, at the end of the march organized by town authorities to express the people's support to the Central Committee's State Decision concerning the MPR's leadership role, Citizen Mimbanga Moushiet Lem, acting general director and section chairman of the MPR-DCMP (Central Medical-Pharmaceutical Depot), gave a moral lecture last Saturday on the subject of "The Cadre's Role In the Spirit of the MPR," to mark the creation of an "MPR Day" at the DCMP.

On the occasion of that day, Citizen Mimbanga stated, moral lectures, working sessions and conferences centering essentially on the party will be organized both at headquarters and in the regions, by DCMP officials.

Based on the speech made on 1[illegible] April at the People's Palace by the MPR chairman-founder, president of the Republic, Marshall Mobutu Sese Seko, on the final report of the Central Committee meeting and on the content of State Decision No 32-CC-83 concerning the leadership role of the party, the DCMP acting general director stated that the MPR spirit meant for our people that the essential values on which the action of the party is based must be reflected collectively as well as individually in everyday's attitudes and reflexes. The MPR spirit must flourish in a free society, because the Zairian people are a free people and happy in their freedom.

One of the essential values that characterize the MPR spirit, according to Citizen Mimbanga, is dialogue within the party.

Commenting on the work of the recent Central Committee meeting, the speaker told the audience that debates had focussed on reaffirming the primacy of the MPR as well as its leadership and prominent role in the country's life as a party that rallies the masses, a movement for action, ideas and creative forces, a framework for concertation and the free debate of opinions, a source of legitimacy and legality for all power, as Marshall Mobutu indicated in his speech.

Therefore, the huge task that the Party-State must accomplish demands that posts of command and responsibility be given only to those who are imbued with the MPR spirit. This prerequisite, the DCMF acting general director stated, is essential because we must guarantee the perdurability of the noble values on which we are to build a harmonious, brotherly and happy society. In closing, and prior to distributing the integral text of the Central Committee's State Decision to his staff, the speaker reminded the cadres that they must play the part of driving forces.

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CSO: 3419/916

ZAIRE

BRIEFS

JAPANESE FARM EQUIPMENT PRESENTED--According to a communique from the Japanese embassy in Zaire, the following agricultural equipment will be officially given to the Executive Council by the Japanese government next Monday: 67 tractors, 67 plows, 67 harrows, 37 seeders and a whole lot of spare parts. This is the result of the agreement signed on 9 March 1982 by the Japanese government and the Executive Council, to mark the friendship and cooperation relations that exist between the two countries, and it is a contribution to the agricultural machinery improvement project. The same source indicated that the state commissioner to agriculture, rural development and environment as well as the Japanese ambassador to Zaire will attend the ceremony. [Text] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 30 Apr 83 p 1] 9294

CSO: 3419/916

## BRIEFS

MUNDIA PRAISES BRITISH AID--Prime Minister Mr Nalumino Mundia has commended the British Council for its positive role in Zambian community development. Speaking when two officers of the council called on him at his office today, Mr Mundia said the council was also giving Zambia notable support in its manpower planning. Mr (Gordon Tindor) the British Council representative in Zambia was bidding farewell to the prime minister after a 4-year stay in Zambia. He is succeeded by Mr (Rupert Pymm). The prime minister assured Mr (Pymm) that Zambia would give him maximum cooperation in his work. [Text] [MB250757 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 24 May 83]

CSO: 3400/1465

## LESSONS DERIVED FROM ZAPU-ZANU SPLIT

London AFRICA NOW in English May 83 p 31

[Article by Abdul Rahman Mohammed Babu]

[Text] The ZANU/ZAPU split (the two parties until the eve of the birth of Zimbabwe were united under the banner of the Patriotic Front), is causing serious political and economic damage to the country as well as moral discomfort to Zimbabwe's well-wishers abroad. On the other hand, it is giving comfort to the enemies of Africa, especially the fascists of South Africa who fully realise that a united Zimbabwe poses a mortal danger to their survival.

In South Africa we have the two major liberation parties, the PAC and the ANC, at loggerheads. Many liberation supporters outside South Africa cannot understand why the two parties cannot come together under the banner of a Liberation Front like FRELIMO, FNLA of Algeria, or PLO of the Palestinian people. The OAU which recognises both parties as authentic leaders of the South African liberation struggle has repeatedly tried to bring them together to form such a Front. Is their contradiction an antagonistic one, or one among the people, and if it is the latter (which it is) what are the obstacles to a united front?

Before we answer that question, let us first of all look into South Africa itself where the struggle will ultimately have to be fought. The objective reality of the country is that it is the most urbanised country in Africa; its productive forces, although lopsided, are also the most developed in Africa. Production relations are of the most extreme form of exploitation, a condition which is very attractive to the multinational corporations and their respective governments who pour billions of dollars into the country for the purpose of maximising profits (ranging from 40% to 200%!) and for maintaining the *status quo*. It is in essence, still a dependent economy in spite of its heavy industrial base.

It has a large proletarianised working class with a long experience of struggle against

oppression which is potentially an important base for future revolutionary action.

Almost all of South Africa's neighbours are weak, fragmented and riven in internal upheavals, supported, and in many cases engineered, by Pretoria. They are all economically dependent on South Africa and are not thinking of any better way of alleviating this dependency except that of re-routing their exports and imports (the SADCC thesis) as if this was the cause, rather than the effect, of their underdevelopment and dependency. None of them can fight South Africa and the latter is utilising this weakness to terrorise them into denying active military facilities to the liberation fighters in South Africa.

While we must despise the enemy strategically, we must at the same time take him seriously tactically. South Africa is a serious enemy, more serious than the Portuguese, the Smiths, etc. Its army has a long tradition of guerrilla warfare from the Boer war against the British, the anti-Germany guerrilla war in Namibia during World War I to the anti-Rommel campaign in North Africa in World War II. The Boers are a desperate lot, with a siege mentality whose fanaticism knows no limit, including resort to suicidal actions.

In order to weaken its strength and take advantage of its many weaknesses, the revolutionaries need a unified, strong and doggedly stubborn resistance movement under a single, centralised leadership in the form of a broad united front comprising all the forces that can be united.

The South African regime of oppression has itself become a breeding ground for the evolution of such a leadership. The South African liberation fighter, by the very nature of his situation, is necessarily a different type of fighter from his or her counterpart elsewhere, where resistance has

not been so severe. Proletarianised and urbanised, they have developed a capacity for all kinds of skills, organisational and technical, including the skills to manufacture grenades and other kinds of guerrilla arms. All this has the making of a formidable force against the fascists. What is more, the fascists know of this eventuality which is a source of many a sleepless night.

The entire non-White population is oppressed, irrespective of their class or position; Africans more so than others. The vast majority will support any movement that seeks to liberate themselves from their enslavement. This is an excellent condition for a protracted struggle. Given this situation, and in order to be self-reliant and subject to no external pressures (as unfortunately was the case with ZANU and ZAPU), the revolutionaries must aim at establishing, at some point, liberated zones inside the country, with the objective of liberating the countryside and surrounding the cities, rather in the manner of the Chinese, Vietnamese and Nicaraguan experience.

On the other hand, their enemy is intrinsically weak in spite of his manifestation of strength. His weakness lies in the following factors: he is fighting for an unjust cause; he is in the minority, surrounded by a hostile majority within the country; his superior military arsenal is useless for a protracted internal war; the ruling class is in disarray and the division in their ranks is widening; he is virtually isolated internationally, and his opponent, the

African masses, have a long experience of struggle.

In other words, the objective conditions for a revolutionary change are ripe. What needs to be strengthened is the subjective factor. A unified Liberation Front can provide such a factor. South Africa's liberation will not be of a "Lancaster House" type; it will be achieved on the battlefield with no external "mother country" with whom to work out compromises and accommodation. Like the Batistas and the Somozas, the Bothas will have to be defeated hands down.

The current Zimbabwe difficulties can be traced in part to the day when the Patriotic Front decided to go to the polls as separate ZAPU and ZANU parties and not as a unified Front. It is in essence a struggle for establishing legitimacy and if it is not handled tactfully it may get out of hand.

It is a serious strategic and tactical error to confuse between antagonistic contradiction and contradiction among the people. The ZANU/ZAPU contradiction is of the latter kind, and so is the PAC/ANC contradiction. Its resolution is through peaceful struggle, whereas that between the front and the occupying power is an antagonistic one whose resolution is through the armed struggle. All these facts are known to the leaders of both the ANC and PAC. What is required, what the South African masses and the rest of Africa require, is a revolutionary will and spirit to make such a united front a reality ●

CSO: 3400/1441

END